

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1875.

The Week.

THE wages of the laborers in the employment of this city were cut down last week from 25 cents an hour to 20 cents, or from \$2 for a day of eight hours to \$1 60; whereat the laborers were justly indignant, struck work, marched to the City Hall, and expressed their disappointment to General Porter and other officials, who made the excuse that the Board of Apportionment having reduced the appropriations, there was nothing for it but to discharge some of the men now at work, or reduce the rate of wages, so as to employ more. It will thus be seen that the theory of the relation of the taxpayers to the laborers they employ is not one of business, nor yet of charity, but something in the nature of a right to maintenance on the side of the laborers or a duty to maintain on the side of the taxpayers. This is acknowledged just as fully by giving more than the market rate of wages as by employing more men than are needed, and its full recognition has now come to be, as we have often pointed out, a prominent article in the creed of any party which tries to rule in this city. In fact, the municipal works are to all intents and purposes a reproduction of the French Ateliers Nationaux of 1848; and if they are not carried on as yet on so great a scale, it is because more avenues are as yet open to the energetic and enterprising in this country, or because the habit of dependence on the state has not yet got so fully hold of the working-classes here as in France. But the mere existence of such a system here of course operates, year after year, as a strong inducement to the shiftless, lazy, improvident, and incompetent in all parts of the country to come to New York, and they are coming steadily and increasingly. Once they get here, they become voters, and decide how much the bankers, and brokers, and shopkeepers, and mechanics ought to spend on drains, pavements, bridges, and other public works, or how many men they ought to employ, what should be the length of the working-day, and how hard a man should work for a given sum. The reason they are allowed to do this is that the nature of a municipal government requires it; and the answer to all objection to it is, "Let the substantial classes attend to their political duties, reason with the lazy and shiftless, and show them by the force of logic that they ought to do more work for less money." Governor Tilden's recognition in his late message of our suggestion that the taxpayers should be allowed to do a good deal of their own work under State superintendence, we take to be a sign that sensible men are beginning to open their eyes to the danger and folly of the present state of things.

The revelations made last week by Ingersoll, the Ring chair-maker, who was pardoned by Mr. Tilden for the sake of getting his evidence in the Ring suits, have furnished the officers of the State with the precise links in the chain of proof that were wanting, and have given the newspapers opportunity for a good deal of moralizing. The *Tribune*, for instance, says of James M. Sweeny, the brother and tool of Peter B. Sweeny, who has just died in Paris, that it is not at all improbable that the suits against the Ring were the cause of his death, and closes its reflections with this terrible picture of his latter end: "Banished from the only city of the world where he was likely to find congenial company, and sent by an ironical fate to the most refined and elegant capital of Europe, where no occupations would naturally present themselves to his uneducated mind except worrying and getting tipsy, it would be strange if he had long survived the wreck of his riotous confederacy, or could have faced with any sort of composure the impending loss of his ill-gotten money." The *World* puts the same thing in a more practical way by observing

that what really stares these thieves in the face is beggary; they have no property, in all probability, except what they stole from the city, and with the attachment of that their means of support are taken away from them. It will not do, to be sure, to press this too far, for we understand that Peter B. Sweeny is still enjoying himself in Paris, while Connolly spends his winters on the Nile. Still, the machinery now possessed by the State for the prosecution of these claims is very complete, and enables suits to be maintained in foreign courts as well as in those of this country. The fate of Tweed and his gang, some of them in prison, others fugitives from justice, and some of them now threatened with starvation, is certainly an impressive subject for thought, and we trust that no thoughtful criminal in any branch of the public service, State or National, will overlook it.

Mr. W. M. Grosvenor, who is probably more conversant with the details of Missouri politics and the lives of Missouri politicians than almost any one in the State, has written a letter to the *Tribune* giving an account of the present condition of politics there. This letter shows plainly enough how necessary it will be for those who are desirous of a general political regeneration in 1876 to keep their skirts clear of entangling alliances with either party meanwhile. The independent voters in Missouri are beginning to think that they have tried the Democratic party as a Reform party sufficiently far, and their one desire in life is to get it out of power again. Mr. Grosvenor gives several reasons for this, among others the election of Cockrell, the inflationist Confederate general, to succeed Schurz in the Senate; but the upshot of them all is that, since the war, the management of both parties has been so rotten that the people who wish good government in the State have turned hopelessly to whichever of them was out of power for relief, only to find that on placing it within reach of temptation it became as bad as its rival. There seems to be little doubt that in Missouri and other Western States the idea of the Democrats as reformers, or of their leaders making demonstrations such as Tilden has made in this State, or Chamberlain in South Carolina, is utterly out of the question, and this also shows how much more evenly balanced the parties are throughout the country at large than most people suppose, and how much will depend in the next Presidential campaign on the character of the nominations on both sides.

In Ohio, where the Republicans have also reason to hope for a victory in consequence of Democratic mismanagement and corruption, the Republican platform adopted last Wednesday declares the unity of the nation and the equality of citizens before the laws; urges a non-committal policy of resumption, which will "ultimately equalize" the purchasing capacity of coin and paper; insists on a revenue tariff with incidental protection; declares against any division of the school-fund, and opposes all legislation in the interest of any particular sect; demands "such a revision of the Patent laws as will relieve industry from the oppression of monopolies"; promises gratitude as well as "liberality and generosity" to the soldiers and sailors; insists on the reservation of the public domain for actual settlers; applauds the determination of the Government to collect the revenue and punish frauds; demands a reduction of expenses, as well as of the power of municipal corporations to contract debts; insists on the observance of "Washington's example" as to a third term as part of the "unwritten law" of the Republic; and expresses gratitude to General Grant for the "distinguished success" of his Administration. There is no mistaking the meaning of the third-term resolution, which makes it evident that General Grant's letter came none too soon, nor of the local resolutions. What is said about the currency is unsatisfactory, and the tariff resolution means anything

you please. The policy of interference with the Southern States seems to have been forgotten, and the same thing may be said of the temperance question. The nomination of General Hayes for Governor is regarded as a strong one.

Mr. Charles Nordhoff's letters in the *Herald* throw some very valuable light on the condition of the Southern States. His account of Mississippi in particular is very interesting in more ways than one, inasmuch as in that State there is a colored majority combined with unmitigated rascality on both sides. The mass of the whites, he says, desire peace and quiet; but there is what the Congressional Committee called a wicked element, composed of the old bowie-knife and pistol men, whose bad language about "niggers" exerts, in Mr. Nordhoff's opinion, a most injurious influence on politics, in keeping the negroes massed together and making them afraid of the Democratic party. The Republican party contains a small faction, headed by Senator Ames, Butler's son-in-law, but it is as feeble in numbers as in character, though it has hitherto had the Administration at its back, and the Republicans of the best class have nothing to do with it. The "Ames Republicans," Mr. Nordhoff says, "have unscrupulously used the ignorance and greed of the negroes to help them in their political schemes." They put into such offices as county supervisor and treasurer, as well as into the legislature, negroes who were often "not only unable to read or write, but who were corrupt and corrupting demagogues," and he furnishes some shocking illustrations of negro incapacity and dishonesty. These things are worth notice in illustration of the fact, to which we have so often called attention, that good government at the South did not depend on Republicans being in a majority; that the white discontents were not by any means always the result of simple "cussedness" or "caste hatred."

The railroad war has forced itself on public attention during the week, and the utterances of Mr. Scott and Mr. Garrett, the original and main parties to the contest, have been read with the greatest interest by the holders of all kinds of railroad securities. Personal feeling is shown in the struggle between these rival chiefs in a way which proves that corporate interests are held in smaller account than they should be. In what Mr. Scott has had to say he has disguised this feeling better than has Mr. Garrett. The latter gentleman, if he has been correctly reported, indulges, when alluding to the personal bearings of the subject, in figures of speech; and, when speaking of the effect of the war on his company, shows refreshing assurance. He points to larger receipts than last year, but makes no mention of the increased mileage caused by the new road to Chicago. The inference would be that the lower the rates, the larger the receipts. He asserts that the trade of Baltimore has increased because of this war, whereas the statistics of the port show that it has fallen off; that his company offers no paper in New York, when the fact is that there is hardly a prominent bank here which has not been offered the paper by brokers, and when bankers in a position to know estimate that there are now nearly four millions held here. The actual cost of transporting a ton of freight one mile is about eight mills; it is known that the trunk-lines are taking through freight from competing points at less than that, it being asserted and uncontradicted that contracts have been made at a price less than three mills per mile. If this be so, it is easy to see what will be the result, provided the contest is long continued. Roads which have way-traffic enough to pay the losses on through business and their dividends and interest obligations, if there are any such roads, will survive, and the others will break down. For local business the New York Central stands first, the Pennsylvania and Erie come next, and the Baltimore and Ohio last. Strange as it may sound to those who have listened to the half-political balderdash about the Baltimore and Ohio solving the "problem of cheap transportation," this company charges higher local rates than any other of the trunk-lines. For transporting coal from Western Maryland, its rates at some points are so high as to be prohibitory,

leaving the owners of the mines the option of selling their product to the Baltimore and Ohio at one dollar per ton or closing their mines. There is this, however, to be said in favor of the Baltimore and Ohio in this contest. It is free from watered stock, and its bonded debt, although largely increased within three years, is still smaller than the other lines. It has what is called a surplus of over \$30,000,000; that is, this amount of surplus earnings has been withheld from the stockholders and invested in the stocks and bonds of connecting roads and in various kinds of railroad property. With railroads in a flourishing condition, part of this surplus would be equivalent to cash; with railroad property depressed, it would be wholly unavailable.

At the Stock Exchange the railroad war has overshadowed all other influences, and prices have advanced or declined as the advances have indicated its termination or continuance. Gold has advanced to 117 $\frac{1}{4}$, the specie shipments having amounted to \$4,418,000, bringing the total export since January up to nearly \$36,000,000, and carrying it above the total of any year since 1868. The shipments are to pay for 5-20 bonds coming here from Europe for redemption under the call of the Treasury. The trade demand for exchange on London is small, and the supply of exchange is also small; early in the week, a large amount of grain was bought for export, but grain makes little exchange, and the export movement had not fairly begun before speculators started prices up, so that even this small source for bills was dried up. The foreign-trade figures show dulness, the total exports, excepting specie, having been \$4,268,000, or about \$1,000,000 below last year, and the imports \$6,004,607, or more than \$2,000,000 less than last year. Domestic trade also continues dull; the spring business has closed with but one satisfactory feature, and that is the general prudence exhibited in granting credits. What the autumn trade will be depends very much on the growing crops. At present the indications are favorable both for cotton and grain. Even with the low price of cotton during the past year, the manufacturers of cotton goods have been "doing poorly." The Atlantic Mills, of Lawrence, Mass., which employ 1,250 operatives and turn out 450,000 yards per week, have closed until September. With the general dulness, it is not strange that money is abundant. Legal-tender notes continue to pile up in the New York banks, which hold now nearly \$65,000,000, or more than has been held since last September, about \$3,500,000 more than last year, and \$20,000,000 more than in 1873, before the panic.

The Indian chiefs have left Washington, and will soon return to the Black Hills and report to their people the result of their interview with the Great Father and his two great chiefs, as he calls them, Smith and Delano. Politically and economically, their visit to Washington may come to something, but morally it cannot be said to have been a success. The Indians on the whole must have been impressed chiefly with the desire of the two great chiefs and their Great Father to get hold of their land, and their suspicions of foul dealing were probably not allayed by the fact that about the time of their arrival in Washington there was an "exposure" of one of the great chiefs, and it was generally announced by the newspapers that he was to retire from office on account of corrupt practices. Then the interpreters seem to have modified everything they interpreted, so that each interview was generally half occupied with corrections of the misstatements or lies contained in the official record of the one just preceding it. The Indians, however, are apparently shrewd at a bargain, and showed that they had caught the spirit of the place, one of the chiefs hinting to Delano that he could easily understand from his own experience with his people at home how the white chief felt about the newspapers; and Red Cloud, on the Administration's suggesting that it desired his photograph, declining to let it be taken unless the Government should "put up" twenty-five dollars. They were assured on all sides that the Great Father wished to do everything that was just and kind, but they have evidently heard this before. The trouble with them

is that they do not understand the value of the great discovery of modern politics, viz., that you must infer the probable acts of a person from his own description to you of his motives. If you infer his motives from his acts, you spoil the whole game.

The Baltimore *Katholische Volks-Zeitung*, a German newspaper published under the sanction of the Archbishop and other ecclesiastical authorities, recently, by way of showing up the iniquity of the Falk Laws, gave its readers a glimpse of court-life in Berlin for which we trust the editor is doing heavy penance. He says that "unbelievers" in all states are the most immoral, dishonorable, shameless, filthy, and depraved persons, and declares that "the most terrible immorality and frightfully vicious life have assumed shocking dimensions among non-Catholic people." Of this the pious rascal gives the following horrid examples: In Berlin there are 150,000 depraved women, many of whom assail passers-by in broad daylight in a state of nature, and, if a policeman interfered, he would be murdered. The Crown Princess, Queen Victoria's daughter, has no more faith than a horse, was an intimate friend of the infidel Strauss, and gave a masked ball not long ago at which drunken military officers appeared as monks and nuns, and "indulged in offensive, immoral gestures and movements." The Princess's character is notoriously bad, and she has many illegitimate children, while her husband has at least thirty; in fact, all the officers of the guard are illegitimate sons of high personages, and there is a special department in the Cabinet whose duty it is to provide names and coats-of-arms for this class of the population. The morals of the local bodies are no better, and, in fact, the rest of the exposures of these German Protestants are so grossly indecent that they will not bear reproduction in any form. Now, we should greatly like to know what Archbishop Bayley and Bishop Wood, who allow themselves to be advertised as patrons of this journal, think of the foregoing account of Prussian manners, and what they think of a religious paper which feeds the faithful in this manner. Their fellow-citizens have a right to know whether it really goes into Catholic families with the stamp of their approval.

It is so short a time since the Russian Government began to let the world know anything about its finances that the study of them has still the charm of novelty, and the steady rise in its credit is among the remarkable financial phenomena of the day. The last loan for railroad purposes—that is, the last issue of railroad bonds with a Government guarantee at 4½ per cent. interest—brought 92 on the London markets. The previous issue now sells at 102 to 105. But the history of Russian revenue and expenditure since 1852, when the publication of the budget began, is curious and significant. The naval and military expenditure has just doubled in that period, while the sum devoted to education has only increased one-third. The public debt is just three times what it was in 1852, and the public revenue and expenditure are not double what they were. The exports of all kinds—though they consist almost entirely of raw products—have quadrupled. Russia's principal trade is with Germany, which now has become a steady customer for her grain, and, on the other hand, sends her now fully one-half her imports. It may interest the Western Granger to know that England is about the furthest market eastward that he can hereafter hope to reach with his cereals on his trans-continental double-track, steel railroad, because although Russia has only about a quarter of a mile of railroad, to the geographical square mile, to the three miles of the United States, her production of corn is increasing so rapidly that she has already secured the German market for her cereals, and will probably not be dislodged from it except by the opening of the valley of the Danube by additional railroads; and will probably stand ready to supply any other country of the European continent which, like Germany, ceases to produce food enough for its wants, at rates which no robbery of bondholders will enable the Western farmer to compete with. Nearly half of her exports last year was in grain, one-eighth was in flax, one-eighteenth in hemp, and about as much in lumber.

The latest French financial statement from M. Léon Say is, however, a far more remarkable tale than any other nation has to tell. The war has added in round numbers \$155,000,000 to the annual charges of the Government, and in this we make no allowance for the increase of burden caused by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. Nevertheless, if we leave out of account the annual repayments of \$40,000,000 to the Bank of France, the Government has had a surplus every year since 1871, and \$130,000,000 of new taxes have been laid on. The indirect taxes alone yielded in 1874 over \$370,000,000, or more than the whole annual revenue of Great Britain, equal to that of the United States; and this was an increase of about \$10,000,000 over 1873. M. Léon Say estimates his surplus next year at \$30,000,000, which the London *Economist* does not think by any means over-sanguine, and he therefore proposes to impose no new additional burdens on the country, and even sees a not very remote prospect of beginning to reduce the debt or the taxes, or both. But he announces his intention of postponing the resumption of specie payments until January 1, 1878, on the ground that the plan of taking time to prepare is a good one, as is shown by the example of England in 1819 and of the United States to-day. But then he must not suppose that the delay here was resolved on by Congress as part of a carefully weighed financial scheme. Congress fixed on 1879 as the year for our resumption simply because the period is far enough off to give nobody any concern, and therefore to take the financial question out of the political arena; and then we have a discount on paper to be got rid of, as the English had in 1819, while the French issues are at par. His other reason is, that if he resumed specie payments the Bank of France would have to withdraw the convertible notes which it was allowed to issue during the war as part of the consideration of the loan it made to the Government at the low rate of one per cent., and therefore the Government ought, in common fairness, to repay the loan in full, which it is not now able to do, before ordering resumption in coin.

We are far from defending, or even apologizing, for the view said to be taken by the military party in Germany as to the course which it would be advisable for the Empire to adopt toward France; but, in judging of the morality of it, it is well to remember that it does not originate with the Germans. The French did precisely this accursed thing in 1870—that is, attacked Germany in order to crush her, not because she had inflicted any injury on France, but because she appeared to be growing stronger than Frenchmen liked; and the fact that Louis Napoleon did not do this at an earlier period was treated by the Opposition as the cardinal error of his career. Moreover, M. Thiers preached again and again in the Assembly the duty of discouraging and, where practicable, preventing the formation of strong states around France. So that if the Junker party were to attack France to-day, in order to overwhelm her before she had completed her military organization, they would be only following French precedents. This would not excuse or palliate the offence; but it does make some of the French horror over the ferocity of the German *hobereaux* somewhat unbecoming.

The Prussian bishops have published a reply to the rescript of the Government of the 9th of April, in which they maintain that the Falk Laws contain a whole series of provisions which conflict with the existence and constitution of the church; deny that obedience to such laws is rendered by the Catholic clergy in any country; but affirm that, touching many of these provisions, an amicable understanding with the Government might be reached; declare that, as regards the submission of the bishops to the Vatican Decrees, they had no alternative—to ask to disobey them is to ask them to abandon the Catholic faith—and that the Decrees have furnished no adequate excuse for the Government legislation. They try to prove this by citing the example of other Catholic countries in which, except the Grand-Duchy of Baden and some cantons of Switzerland, no trouble has occurred in consequence of them. The only thing noteworthy in the reply is the evidence it contains, however slight it may be, that the bishops would be glad to compromise.

LOUISIANA AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WE publish on another page a letter from a New Hampshire correspondent who invites us to consider the striking similarity between the present election case in New Hampshire and the Louisiana case of last winter, and who says that he has been looking from week to week to see us "deal with Governor Weston and his Council in the same unsparing manner" in which we have dealt with lawless officials in the Southern States. We should have no hesitation in "dealing with" him, and his Council too, did the case warrant such severe measures; but the muddle into which the politicians have got themselves in New Hampshire has all along seemed to us at once too technical and too much like other election cases which arise from time to time in the Northern States, and too likely also to come up for judicial decision in the courts, to make it worth while for us to "deal with" anybody about it, except with some of the more partisan newspapers, which were making a tremendous clamor over a case which they certainly did not understand any too thoroughly. In speaking of the case last week, we expressly declined to give any opinion on the merits, and merely said that if the Secretary of State's view of the law was correct, there would seem to be nothing to say in reply to his letter; and this we say again. It seems, however, that the Republican rejoinder to this defence is that the Secretary is not correct in his view of the law; that the Governor and Council, though they may "examine" the votes, are not a judicial body; that the moderators of the towns are the officials who have, short of the legislature, all the authority over elections; and that after the moderator has made his decision, and the town-clerk has recorded his "declaration," nobody can take external evidence to determine who was really elected but the two houses of the legislature, each of which is, as everybody admits, the final judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

The undisputed facts in the New Hampshire case are these: At the last election there was no choice for Governor, and the election was in this way thrown into the hands of the legislature. That body is, however, closely divided, and the change of a very small number of seats would give one party or the other the coveted power of electing the Governor. The Governor and Council are, in the case of the Senate, the returning board, who receive from the town-clerks the result of the voting, "examine" this result, and send the names of those who appear to be elected to the clerk of the Senate, and the list thus made out furnishes the roll of the Senate as it first stands. There are two disputed cases, but that of "Natt" Head is the more important one. The law undoubtedly required the moderators to throw out all the votes cast for "Natt" Head, because his full name was Nathaniel. In that case the election would have been carried by Priest, and to Priest the Governor and Council have given it. Of course, if they had no right to go into the question at all, they have done wrong, and deserve to be blamed for it. If they had any judicial authority, then the limits of that authority should be determined by the courts in a peaceful and orderly manner, and that is exactly what, as we write, is now being done.

It will be seen that there are, as our correspondent points out, certain resemblances between the New Hampshire and the Louisiana cases. In both there have been elections of the State legislature, and in both the result has placed each party so nearly even with the other that the change of a few votes would give the practical control of the State to either of them. In each case the election returns were sent by the local election officers to the central returning board, and by them "examined."

Here, however, the resemblance completely ends, while the differences which the subsequent proceedings reveal are so glaring that, far from seeing in the present condition of New Hampshire politics a repetition of the Louisiana case, we should select it as a very good illustration of the normal working of republican institutions. But in order that there may be no doubt about the matter, we will state the various proceedings which the New Hampshire politicians should have taken to make the cases parallel, and pro-

mise that if any such a series of events takes place there, or in any other State, we will denounce the people who are responsible for it unsparingly. In the first place, the Democratic Governor and Council of New Hampshire, if they had meant to follow the Louisiana precedent, would not have wasted their time and labor in correcting the mistakes made at the polls in such trifling matters as the counting of votes which were legally blanks, and after all have left it an open question whether the Democrats or the Republicans had carried the day; they would have got quietly together in a room, where they would have gone over the returns until they had found out exactly how many seats in the Senate were needed by their party, after which they would have taken up the returns on which Democrats were declared elected, and passed them, reserving the Republican cases till the end; then, taking the Republicans whom they found declared elected, but whom it was necessary to unseat, they would have proceeded to examine into the circumstances of their election, and to certify thereupon that owing to conclusive evidence of "fraud" or "corruption" at the polls, these seats were vacant. They or their political friends would at the same time have applied to Washington for troops on the ground of expectation of bloodshed and domestic violence, which the President would, of course, have been obliged to grant. They would then have proceeded to organize the legislature, and on an attempt being made by that body to organize itself, the troops would have come in and organized it for them, by driving out a number of them at the point of the bayonet. The general in command would have issued his proclamation denouncing the chief Republicans of the State as banditti, and telegraphed to Washington for permission to court-martial and execute them. The "Natt" Head question would then have been referred to the President, to whom the general in command would probably have telegraphed that, if "Natt's" votes were not counted, violence and anarchy would rule the State; the President would have referred the "Natt" Head question to Congress; Congress would have had an investigating committee about it; this committee would have divided into two parts, and one would have taken one side of the question, one another, and the "Natt" Head case would have become a great national question, which could only have been settled by a sort of international treaty drawn up as between sovereign powers, and signed by people who had no more authority in the premises under the Constitution and the laws than the Khedive or the Guikwar of Baroda.

We do not say that all this will not happen in New Hampshire, but we do not believe that it will, for the simple reason that it is an American State, governed by American customs and laws, and in the habit of settling its political questions in the American manner, by legal means, and not by external force. The indignation of some of the Republican papers over the New Hampshire affair furnishes very good reading for the moralist who has managed to keep himself in happy ignorance of recent political history. But those who are familiar with the events of the last twenty years, and have any habits of reflection, can hardly help wondering, not that such things should be, but that they have not happened oftener. This particular kind of unscrupulousness or illegality with which the New Hampshire Democrats are charged, is emphatically one which can only be extirpated by the resolute determination of one political party, at least, to refrain from and discountenance it. It may be said to have been begun by the Democrats in the latter days of the anti-slavery conflict, and it is a sort of device which the peculiar composition of that party makes very attractive. In other words, the moral tone of a large body of the members is not very high, while their interest in politics is very keen. The discouragement and reprobation of such practices ought, therefore, to have been a leading feature in Republican policy, and this discouragement and reprobation ought to have been displayed in practice, as well as on the stump and in editorial articles. To resort to it either in retaliation or for the promotion of high aims was a tolerably sure way to give it a permanent lodgment in American political practice; and this the Republicans, as soon as they came out of the war, unhappily did

not hesitate to do at the South. The Force Bills, to say nothing of the electioneering carried on under the superintendence of the Attorney-General, were simply Republican declarations that wherever they had the game in their own hands they meant to play it in their own way. We are, therefore, very glad for our part that the New Hampshire incident has occurred soon enough after the Louisiana affair to bring home to the minds of Republican statesmen the fact that the little arts they have been practising at the South are capable of being closely imitated by their Democratic fellow-citizens, and that there is no way under heaven of giving the good and pure a monopoly of fraud and violence.

STRIKES AND SPECULATION.

THE failure of the Aberdare Iron Company in England, which is acknowledged to have been hastened or precipitated by strikes, is worth attention as an illustration of the way in which the condition of the labor market, not in England only, but in other commercial countries, contributes to the growth of the spirit of speculation, over which there is just now so much lamentation. The Stock Exchange in this country has long been a favorite object of denunciation to indignant moralists; and there are a good many pious people in various parts of the country who fancy that its abolition by law should form the first step in any attempt to purify the national morals. The London Exchange for a good while preserved a better character, but of late it, too, has fallen into disgrace. The history of some of the recent operations on it is anything but edifying reading. In fact, some of its members have felt obliged to write letters to the papers justifying its existence, in consequence of the recent disclosures as to the mode in which foreign government loans are put on the London market. But no exposures or denunciations lessen the importance of the Stock Exchange, or retard the steady growth of the dealings in stocks of one sort or another, or tend to make them less attractive to the general public, or to diminish the amount of capital which is used in holding them for a rise or fall. It must be observed, too, that the spirit of speculation is not confined to stocks; it extends to all commodities—cotton, grain, tea, coffee, sugar, and in fact to everything which is largely dealt in, and the supply of which is affected by contingencies of one sort or another. The pulpit, the newspapers, and all the better sort of popular writers, are unwearied in their praises of slow gains, the gradual accumulation of wealth by fidelity and assiduity, and of the dangers of over-eagerness to be rich; but steady industry, nevertheless, does not grow in popular estimation as much as one could wish. The credit of the slow-going, faithful man does not grow in proportion to that of the skilful operator. The boys do not like to serve long apprenticeships; the young men do not like to work their way up in obscure or out-of-the-way places, where fortune has no surprises in store. Everybody wants to get to the large cities, where there is a chance of a "quick turn" and of getting a fortune before one grows old. People like to have their diamonds and champagne while they are young, and find they can have a great deal of enjoyment without "the respect of all who know them."

Now, whatever increases the uncertainties of regular business enterprises, and whatever makes the results of ordinary industry seem doubtful, unquestionably fosters the speculative fever. The ease with which small men can now borrow money, and thus increase competition, has greatly reduced already the number of great mercantile houses, and will probably prevent the founding of any more like those in whose hands the banking and foreign trade of England and this country lay at the beginning of the present century. Nobody can go to India or China in our day and be sure of a fortune by mere steadiness. No merchant can despatch well-assorted cargoes to various parts of the world, and then wait patiently until the ships come back, with the certainty of making money, if they escape shipwreck and pirates. The despatch of goods to a foreign port is but the beginning of anxiety, because their value changes every hour until their arrival. The submarine cables, too, have ruined the

brokers who had made a reputation for sagacity and foresight, by enabling every small speculator to flash his offers of commodities at any distance direct to the buyer, without the intervention of the broker, and to "cut under" the broker.

The discontent of the laboring class is having a similar effect on those branches of industry which require large investments of capital and make slow returns, such as iron-making, spinning, and mining. They make it a little more difficult to estimate cost, and a little more doubtful what the result will be of any undertaking requiring a long period for its execution. For instance, the immense ship-building establishments which a few years ago flourished on the Thames have been driven away to the Clyde, owing to the impossibility of making estimates of work to be done by London workmen. A strike means a change of greater or less amount in the cost of production then pending. In the case of contracts adjusted as nicely as contracts have to be in the present state of competition, even a slight change may sometimes work ruin. The anxiety of a contest with workmen under such circumstances, especially on a falling market, can hardly be imagined by an outsider. It would not be easy to overestimate the amount of it which must have preceded a catastrophe so great as the failure of the Aberdare Company; and this anxiety produces its effect on the bystanders, especially on the young men. When they see the ruin of their seniors wrought, not by extravagance or unskilfulness or want of judgment, but by what they consider the crankiness or folly of laborers, they either turn their faces away from fields in which toil does not bring its due reward and which do not yield the excitement of gambling, or they determine to do business in some quicker and sligher way, which, by bringing in returns more rapidly, will lighten risks. This is the secret of much of the imperfect work of our day. It is imperfect because, to make sure of the profits, it has to be done quickly.

The extent to which public and private morals rest on certainty as to the future exceeds all ordinary conception. Neither civilization nor character can be said to begin to grow until people can look forward for a few years, and conclude with confidence that if they do a certain thing for a certain length of time, assured results will follow. Uncertainty is always barbarizing, and indeed may be said to constitute the essence of barbarism. The most striking feature in savage life is the general distrust about the next day, or even the next hour; the most striking feature in civilized life is the general confidence that things will happen in a certain prearranged sequence. All legislation, or social disorders, whether strikes, riots, or wars, which diminish this confidence, sap the foundations of morality in a greater or less degree—it may be only slightly, but still surely. It is in this way that cheating by governments, like the Potter Law in Wisconsin, helps to foster the gambling tendency in human nature and make steady devotion to laborious callings distasteful; and it is on this tendency that the enormous system of modern "stock operations" rests. A like effect is produced by lawlessness such as that which prevails in the Pennsylvania coal regions, in many parts of the South, and in the South American states. This accounts, too, for the success of many despotisms; if they do nothing else, they preserve order, which means, on the moral side, confidence in the future; and when you give a man this, you enable him, if not to make the most of himself, to make a great deal.

THE BOOK-KEEPING OF RELIGIOUS PUBLICATION SOCIETIES.

IN theory a religious publication society is the organized production and distribution, by sale or gift, of books, periodicals, and tracts inculcating such forms of belief as are held by the persons constituting and maintaining the organization. Most commonly it is directly connected with some particular religious body, but in some cases represents a union of various bodies having a common interest in the conduct of the society. When fully equipped, it procures MSS., manufactures them in appropriate forms, sells them through the book-trade or over its own counter or by special agents, and also makes gifts of them where it finds a sale inexpedient or impossible. For carrying on this enterprise it relies on the sales of its publications and on contributions in money, solicited through paid agents

or associate organizations; it establishes a printing-office and bindery, an engraver's shop, a book-store with branch offices; it employs secretaries, editors, and other salaried officers, and has its newspaper organ in which to call attention to its work and its publications. Sermons are preached in its interest, public meetings held, and a considerable amount of machinery set in motion to keep it in active operation. Those who contribute to its funds do so on the ground that thereby religious truth, of a more or less special character, is disseminated. The appeal to them is made on this ground; this is the sole object in their mind; and they regard the society as a delegated agent to do in an organized way what as individuals they themselves cannot do. Moreover, by their relation to the society, they are predisposed to buy their religious literature mainly, if not exclusively, of them.

This, we say, is the theory of a religious publication society. Practically, it is a publishing concern, differing from other publishing houses not only in having a large body of interested patrons, but in being substantially removed from the ordinary perils of business. It is able in an exigency to rely upon reserve funds, which are not lent but given outright for the support of the concern, and the possibility of failure is almost entirely left out of account, not because the business is impregnablely established upon sound business principles, but because it is insured against loss by daily deposits which are never called for by the depositors. Or, to put the case in a still clearer light, the society as a publishing house may at any time avail itself of the trust funds which it holds as a trustee of charitable money, and in doing this have all the appearance of transacting a legitimate business, and of using the trust funds exactly as the donors intended. If, as is customary, the books of the charitable department and the books of the publishing department are kept separate, it is perfectly easy, so long as public confidence in the society continues, to make each set of books show a balance on the right side.

Let us illustrate this point by one or two examples. A manuscript is offered for publication and accepted by the committee. The author is paid a certain sum in full for all claims, the manuscript is stereotyped, the book printed and bound, and offered for sale. But, as may happen even to an irreligious book, it fails to find buyers enough to take more than half the edition. The society finds itself with the remaining half on its hands as dead stock. An ordinary publisher, after trying all ordinary means of disposal, can only send the books to the mill to be ground, the stereotype plates to the foundry to be melted, credit his venture with a good deal less than the cost of the paper he bought to print the books on, and so many pounds of type-metal at a few cents a pound, where he has paid perhaps a dollar a pound for stereotyping, and charge the net result to profit and loss. But the society need never come to such a pass. As a business house, it can sell the unsalable books to itself as a charitable association, at any price from retail to wholesale that it judges expedient, credit the business with the sale, give away the books through its agents, and charge the charitable department with the cost of the books and the cost of distribution. In this case the business balance-sheet shows a profit, and the charitable sheet is properly charged with a legitimate grant of religious reading.

Another example will illustrate the same point. The society issues a paper at a subscription price which cannot cover the cost of production unless a very large edition is circulated. As one means of increasing the circulation, it adopts a plan much in vogue amongst newspaper publishers, and issues a large extra edition of a single number, sending the sheets to a multitude of addresses, and urging the persons receiving this specimen number to examine it and be induced to subscribe for the year. It is to be expected that a certain percentage of the people receiving these specimens will subscribe; they have been advertised of the paper by this means. Now, the society need not charge the expense of this extra edition to the publication of the paper. It discovers that it sent the specimens out for the purpose of distributing religious literature freely, and so it charges the cost of the paper and the cost of distribution, including postage, to the charitable department. Upon the business-books the transaction appears as the sale of a large edition of the paper, passed to its credit; upon the charitable books, as the grant of religious papers, including expense of distribution—a very proper and legitimate charge upon the society in this function. We add one further illustration drawn from the management of periodicals. The strong competition which exists among the several societies in the publication of papers requires that the price laid upon them should be in some cases less than cost; to repair this damage, it is only necessary to charge the charitable department, which is a large purchaser, at a higher rate than the subscribers are charged. In brief, when the business part of the concern fails to make a good investment, it can dispose of its unsalable goods to a customer, the charitable department, which stands ready to take them at any time at something above the highest market rate; when the business

wishes to secure extensive advertising, to increase the volume of its sales, it can by a simple device get its advertising done for nothing, and make a handsome sale to the advertiser at the same time; when the business finds itself hard pressed in competition, it finds a generous backer in the charitable department, which has the satisfaction of doing good to the world at large and its own brother in particular by a single stroke.

The competition with kindred societies suggests the relation which any one of these societies holds toward the book-trade in general. A correspondent of the *Publishers' Weekly* some time since entered a complaint against the religious publication societies that they were in the habit of making special discounts to Sunday-schools, thereby preventing the retail dealer from keeping the only customers whom he could expect for the class of books in question. To this the editor replied: "The chief difficulty in this matter comes of the complication of the religious publishing societies with the general trade. These publication houses, so far as they are charitable and missionary in organization, do not come within trade lines, and cannot be expected to look at matters of price from the trade point of view." We should suspect the editor of irony if we did not know that this double character of the houses in question had confused the heads even of those who managed them. The relation which the societies hold to the general book-trade is a part of our subject which calls for separate and special treatment; we content ourselves here with pointing out a single instance in which regular laws are interfered with by the action of the religious publication society. It issues a great many books for young people, with special reference to the Sunday-school libraries. There are other publishers engaged in the enterprise of publishing the same class of books, and building up their business indeed upon this foundation. These books must be cheap; but in order that any single copy of a book may be cheap, it is necessary that a large edition of the book should be issued and sold. Here comes in the superior advantage of the religious publication society. It may double or treble the size of the edition which an ordinary publisher would think it prudent to issue of the same book, and thus reduce the divided cost, and consequently the retail price of each copy. It can, therefore, submit its books to schools or single buyers at a uniformly lower rate than individual publishers can afford, compelling the latter to cheapen the books they offer in order to compete with their more favorably placed rivals.

It is thus seen that such a society has an immense advantage by the side of an ordinary publishing house. It can publish freely, pay salaries, issue neat annual reports overflowing with testimony to the value of the publications, but somewhat reserved in the statement of accounts, hold public meetings, and go on its way rejoicing, while an ordinary publishing house with the same list of publications would very probably be enjoying a day of judgment long before its day of jubilee came. It may be said that the very object of these societies and the condition under which they work give them a natural advantage; that they are not business houses constituted for earning money, but associations for disbursing money in the form of books or other publications, and that the criticism which we have offered at the most only affects their mode of adjusting accounts; that it is for the interest of the public which they represent to maintain the societies, even at a loss, for the express purpose of keeping in circulation the literature which they produce and distribute. We are not inveighing against the organized production and distribution of religious literature, we are considering only the method of the organization; and it is just because of the nature of its work that we regard criticism of its methods imperative.

Every religious publication society is a trustee. It holds funds committed to it for a single purpose. No one consciously contributes money for the purpose of keeping a complicated machinery of publication in operation; the funds are given to supply people with a special class of literature; and it is assumed that the trustees, or the society, understands how to use this money prudently, so that as little as possible shall be expended upon the agency. How do the trustees invest these funds? Originally they put them into a business—the business of publishing and selling books—which is notoriously uncertain, requiring the closest possible attention, the most scrupulous economy in management; a business quick to feel any general depression in the country, and open to the sharpest competition. No publishing house in the country could maintain itself that was conducted, as to its selection of books, by an irresponsible committee, and as to the manufacture and sale of them, by salaried officers who had nothing at stake beyond a position not likely to be taken from them unless they were grossly inefficient. It must be remembered that a religious publishing society, when fully equipped, is not a mere bookselling house, but it is a manufacturing house as well, and undertakes to carry on the complicated business of printing and binding, in fair weather and foul, with all the risks that attend this kind of manufacturing. No printing office, it is safe to say, could be

profitably carried on long without the stimulus which personal interest on the part of its proprietor supplied. The profit of the business is in its saving, and he saves whose living depends on his saving. Originally, we said, the trustees put the trust money into this business; when fully under way, the donations which come in and the legacies left to the society are ostensibly devoted to the distribution of the literature furnished by the society, and great pains is taken to assert this fact, but we have shown above by how simple a process the charitable receipts are made to cover a deficiency in the business receipts, while they figure upon the books as exclusively used for the purpose intended by the donors. We have analyzed the reports of several of these societies, and the same conclusion is reached in all. It is unfortunate, however, for a clear understanding that the published exhibits are very brief as a rule, and the whole system of book-keeping employed so complex that only an expert could be expected to discover wherein society had failed in the faithful execution of the trust.

We are not writing in any spirit of enmity toward the societies; we simply criticise the methods employed, and we offer what seems to us a simple and intelligible solution of the problem involved in the management of a religious publication society. That people will desire to make use of agencies for propagating the belief they hold we grant, and we also contend that they have a right to demand the utmost possible simplicity and directness, the least possible opportunity for mismanagement, and the most open exhibit of accounts. The first and final step to be taken is for the society to dissolve completely the partnership between charity and trade. It was not instituted to make and sell books which people are eager to buy, but to provide books which it regards as so good for people that they must be persuaded to take them as a gift in most cases. It is absolutely impossible in the nature of things for such a society to be self-supporting as a business house, and it has no moral right to put forward such a pretension, when it knows that collapse would follow a general withdrawal of funds entrusted to it.

Now, supposing the society to have a suitable manuscript in hand, it may judiciously determine that it is expedient to have it stereotyped, but there is no necessity for setting up a composing-room and stereotype foundry for this purpose; there are enough such offices eager for the work, and stereotype plates may be made at the lowest market rates. Thus far the society takes upon itself no extraordinary risks, and is about its legitimate business. If the book has elements of popularity, a publisher can easily be found who will take on himself the risk of paper, printing, binding, and selling, paying a royalty to the society for the use of the plates, and thus the society will get back something on its investment, while it shares the interest of the publisher in securing a general sale of the book. Moreover, it can buy as many copies as it sees fit, at cost, for free distribution. Again, supposing the society desirous of distributing books and tracts which nobody will buy at any price, still its most economical method is not to engage in the risky business of manufacturing, but to order its goods made by manufacturers constantly engaged in such work; by so doing, it does not lock up its capital in presses and type, which it must keep constantly busy or suffer loss. By this simple process the society rids itself of the risks and cumbrous machinery of publication; it reduces current expenses by having no bookstore nor a large body of clerks; free from the embarrassments of business, it is enabled to use the money entrusted to it for the legitimate purpose designed. It can move slowly or quickly in the matter of publishing, according as the funds come in for the purpose. It is not obliged, as other publishing houses are, to keep publishing whether times are dull or not. It can make a full and perfectly intelligible exhibit of its finances; and, above all, the whole proceeding will be upon a ground of honesty and not subject to the severe strains which we have pointed out above. We are not proposing an untried scheme. Historical publication societies at home and abroad have adopted the plan, and at least one English and two American religious publishing societies are to-day organized upon this general basis. We are convinced that sooner or later every religious publication society in the country must pass through the ordeal of an investigation of its affairs, to determine whether or not its entire method is false and misleading.

ENGLAND.—MR. GRANT DUFF'S POLITICAL SURVEY.

LONDON, May 22, 1875.

THE town of Elgin, in the northeast of Scotland, is the very last place in the United Kingdom in which you would expect to find a political reservoir filled to the brim with liberal wisdom, and overflowing into the streets and byways of less favored cities from its superabundance of interesting, uncommon, and instructive information. Elgin is an unobtrusive little town, surrounded by corn-fields telling from the heaviness of their crops of

patient husbandry and superior farming. It is separated from the Northern Ocean by three or four miles of bleak arable land and benty sand-hills peopled with rabbits. It is inhabited by a gentle but unprogressive population, one-half old maids, the other half pensioned officials and retired shopkeepers. There are no manufactories and no trade to speak of. It is not a garrison town. There are no educational institutions of any note, there is no professional life—not even a hydropathic establishment or anything of the kind—to give a zest to existence or a stimulus to intellectual or material development. There is no reason why Elgin should have any place in the universe except one—and that is, that, conjointly with three or four other towns worse than itself, it returns Mr. Grant Duff to Parliament as its representative.

Mr. Grant Duff is comparatively a young man. He was born, as it appears from Dod's 'Parliamentary Companion,' in 1829, in the North of Scotland. He was educated at Edinburgh and at Balliol College, Oxford—the educational dry nurse of all distinguished Scotchmen and not a few distinguished Englishmen. He entered Parliament, as representative for the Elgin district of burghs, in 1857, and was Under-Secretary of State for India during the late Gladstone Administration. He was also Lord Rector of Aberdeen University from 1866 to 1872. Such is the dry record of his life, accurate enough, because Dod is always accurate, but, to those who have watched his Parliamentary career more closely than Dod, supremely inadequate. It is not too much to say that the member for the Elgin burghs has, during the eighteen years of his Parliamentary life, proved himself, perhaps without exception, the most assiduous statesman in the House of Commons. I use the word "statesman" advisedly. There are many more assiduous politicians, bustling about the lobbies of the House and the reception-rooms of the leaders of their party, moving heaven and earth to win an election here or catch a vote there, or hamper a political opponent for the good not of the commonwealth but of their own particular faction in it. Mr. Grant Duff has eschewed any claims to statesmanship which may be gained by such means as these. He has rested his title to political influence on the hard work of political study, pursued not in England only, but over the whole range of political life. He never rests. In season and out of season, he is always working, flying about from one source of political instruction to another, and laying up stores of wisdom and information, and anecdote to help the wisdom and information down; and all his rich hive of political honey which he has thus diligently piled up, he lavishes once a year upon his Elgin constituents. So that out of this unlikely locality there comes an extra Parliamentary address every year which finds its way into prominent places in leading newspapers both at home and abroad, and is more canvassed and criticised and discussed in society and by the press than nine-tenths of the leading speeches which are delivered within the walls of the two Houses of Parliament.

There is something curious in the manner of this annual manifesto. A very old story is extant of a Presbyterian divine, the incumbent of two barren rocks in the Frith of Clyde, with a scanty population of some hundred souls, who, in offering up a prayer for the prosperity of the rocks in question, was wont to beseech the Almighty at the same time and in his great mercy not to overlook the adjacent islands of Great Britain and Ireland. So it is with Mr. Grant Duff. He preaches nominally to the town of Elgin, but in reality his words are addressed not to it, nor even to the adjacent islands of Great Britain and Ireland, but to the whole Eastern hemisphere. Nor does he stay his course even there. At times, indeed, he seems almost to annihilate space. His eye glances across the sea, and in its survey takes in the more prominent institutions and the newest combinations in your country and in Southern America. And all these institutions and combinations, both of the Old World and of the New, he passes in review before his bewildered constituents in Elgin for their political amelioration.

And even stronger heads than those of his northern electors might feel dizzy at the contemplation of the mass of men and things which Mr. Grant Duff brings before them. He takes his constituents, as a London daily newspaper profanely but appositely puts it, up an exceeding high mountain apart, and shows them all the kingdoms of the earth in a moment of time. I have a collection of his addresses before me which was published in 1868, and is called a "Political Survey." It is dedicated to his constituents, and given to them in the form of a book and not on the platform, as he had intended. "These addresses were begun," he says, "with a view to their being delivered to audiences in the Elgin district of burghs. The necessity, however, of making a large number of speeches on our internal politics during the month preceding the recent election, and other circumstances, having prevented my actually delivering them, I now offer them to you through the press." The brain whirls and the sight grows dim as you

read the contents of this book. It commences with Europe, and surveys the internal politics of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany, Austria, Russia, and all the minor states. Part II. treats with equal minuteness of Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, China, and two or three less familiar states, and then takes up another continent, and lays bare before the eyes of Elgin the true condition of the West Coast of Africa, of Madagascar, of Abyssinia and Zanzibar, and two or three more African empires. Parts III. and IV. are devoted to the Western Hemisphere and the United States; Mexico, Central America, and Hayti being dealt with in Part III., and Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil, and a host more of the states of South America, in Part IV. All this, including a Review and Conclusion, is compressed into some 240 moderately-sized pages of largish print. And the information given is not such as a man picks up out of encyclopedias, or abbreviated histories, or the tales of special correspondents to the daily papers. It is mostly new, and relating to events which have just happened, or are likely to happen, in the respective countries. The view, no doubt, of the political situations is such as a man would see of the material situations from a balloon floating gently over the universe. But the events forming the subjects of this bird's-eye view are grouped together with intelligence and skill, and, though the summary is bewildering, it is always original and interesting. Some people like being bewildered by an original and interesting man, and it is only reasonable to suppose that this is the case with the electors of Elgin, otherwise they would not have stood by their present member for eighteen years.

The address which he delivered the day before yesterday was less bewildering and not less interesting than usual. He has visited, as he explained to his audience, every country in Europe except Portugal, and studied all their institutions—his system being not to take anything at second-hand, but to visit a country first and read about it afterwards. On the present occasion he had reversed the process. He had studied India as an intelligent politician through the dark glass of official life, when he was Under-Secretary for India in the Gladstone Administration. But now that the Gladstone Administration had come to an end and his official services were no longer wanted, he took advantage of the opportunity to acquaint himself with the true character of the great empire he had been governing at home. He went out to India last November, and spent some months in the country, seeing with his own eyes what he had only read in despatches, and mastering with his great ability and assiduity the details of the government of the empire. He has just returned to England, taking Italy, France, and Germany on his way, and he has paid his constituents the high compliment of an early visit. His personal doings when in India are being recorded from month to month in the *Contemporary Review*, and most interesting and suggestive records they are, and well worthy of perusal. The opinions which he formed on this his pilgrimage, or at least the most important of them, both with regard to India and to the present state of Europe, he has just given us in this address to the burghers of Elgin in the first instance, and to the world in the second.

I do not mean to give you even a summary of these opinions, as doubtless you will have them in full before this reaches you. They are all colored with the optimist views of the universe which Mr. Grant Duff, in contradistinction to Mr. Rathbone Greg, will always take of contemporary affairs. Mr. Greg, in his Cassandra vein, sees nothing but tribulation coming upon the earth. Mr. Grant Duff, on the other hand, sees good in everything—even in household suffrage. There is no Conservative reaction at home, he says, only the exhaustion and dulness incident to the great labors of the Administration of which he was a distinguished member. The front Opposition bench is the "least factious of Oppositions," just as it was "the most laborious of governments." The British army is, thanks to Lord Cardwell's reform, as good and large as it ever was in time of peace; the British navy, thanks to Mr. Childers, is even finer. The Indian Empire is a grander possession than he had imagined before he saw it, and our hold over it is firmer. The native army is efficient. The Indian civilians under the competitive system are as healthy and gentlemanly, and more intelligent than they were under the nominative system. France is recovering her strength, and her people their spirits. Everything looks bright on the horizon. There may be a little speck in one corner produced by the military spirit in Germany, but that will probably pass away. And if the usual bad luck attends the financial policy of the Tory Government at home, it will only have the effect of bringing back the Liberals to power sooner than might have been anticipated. Whatever opinion any one may form of the truth of Mr. Grant Duff's political speculations, no one can call him a croaker or deny him the credit of laborious and enlightened toil and intelligent criticism. He stands by himself in the House of Commons and in this country. It has been said of him that omniscience is his forte and omni-

presence is his foible, and it is on these two rocks that he may shipwreck his Parliamentary career. I cannot believe it will be so; he has too much good sense and too good judgment to run such a risk. I have ever read with the greatest possible interest all that he has said or written, and I confidently expect to see him, before many years are over, one of the leading politicians in the country. In the meantime, why should he be cavilled at for using the agency of the Elgin burghs for the promulgation of his opinions? It would be hard indeed if the world were to be prevented from reaping the benefit from his labors and experience—if he were to give up to Elgin what was obviously meant for mankind.

THE FRENCH VIEW OF THE LATE WAR-CLOUD.

PARIS, May 21, 1875.

DURING a storm at night a flash of lightning suddenly illuminates the whole landscape, and for a moment everything becomes visible. Panics have a little the same effect in politics: they give us a sudden vision of things, and when they are ended everything lapses again into the dark. We have had during the last month a war panic. Nobody thought or dreamt of war, when suddenly everybody began to talk of it. How did this happen? To say that it all arose from some newspaper articles in Germany, in France, and in England would perhaps exaggerate the importance of this fourth power in the state—the press. The articles in the *Post* (I mean the German *Post*) or the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* are formidable because we see in them, or think that we see in them, the thoughts of the German Chancellor; the letters of "our own correspondent" or "our French correspondent" in the *Times* agitate the Exchange because they are sometimes attributed to the Duke Decazes, sometimes to Count Beust, sometimes to the English Government.

The situation which was revealed to the general public in Europe by the press was well known to those who keep their eyes open on the state of the world. I am a constant reader of the German newspapers, and I have long known that since the peace of Frankfort was signed there has been a double current of thought in Germany. The military party was not completely satisfied with this peace; but its voice was stifled at first in the satisfaction of the German people. By degrees, it became apparent that the resources of France were far larger than had been imagined; our prosperity, after so many misfortunes, has become a commonplace subject of conversation. People do not reflect that we have not paid our ransom in reality; we have given five milliards to the Germans, but we have borrowed them in order to liberate our territory, and we are paying yearly the interest on this enormous sum in the form of increased taxes. It is true that the French people are wonderfully industrious and economical; we are increasing our capital every year; the ancient habits of the people have accumulated capital to such an extent that we have been able practically to resume specie payment. Our legislation is such that our speculators have not been allowed to plunge headlong into the system of indiscriminate railway-building. Our six great companies of railway lines are prosperous; our peasants have invested all their savings in the French rentes, and have brought them up above par, four years after the war. In an economical point of view, the situation of France is therefore better than that of any country in Europe, especially if you reflect that our Government has made no perpetual concession of the railroads, and that, sooner or later, the ten milliards now invested in the railways will return to the state, and thus diminish our debt by half, without the necessity of a sinking fund. This situation has excited the jealousy of Germany; the five milliards which we paid to them excited an unnatural development of enterprise, and much money has been hopelessly lost in Germany since the war. It seemed to many observers that the conquerors had lost by their victory and the vanquished gained by their defeat. This, of course, is a superficial view of things, as the German state has become much richer by paying a large part of its debt, while many individuals may have suffered by bad speculations. The wealth of the state and the wealth of individuals are two things somewhat independent, if not sometimes contrary to each other.

In a military point of view, the advantage was altogether on the German side. It is one of the characteristics of the military leaders of Germany to consider war as a great experiment; they seem to think of nothing but finding defects in their own army. After Sadowa, the German Emperor spoke of nothing but the faults which had been found with his artillery. So it was after the campaign in France: the artillery had to be changed, the Chassepot must find a better match in the *Mausers*, the mobilization must be made even quicker than it had been before Woerth and Forbach, the forts round Strasbourg must be constructed according to new and improved principles. In France, it is very different. The siege proved

that the existing forts of Paris are completely insufficient, and cannot preserve the finest city in the world from a bombardment; but the new forts are only planned; one or two only are begun. Our army was in utter disorganization: a small nucleus was reorganized during the Commune, and since that time great efforts have been made. But we have had no great Minister of War; you hear nothing but complaints if you talk to military men. We had no longer any artillery: owing to the energy of a young colonel, we are now provided with a provisional artillery, but it is merely provisional, and the field-gun of the future is not even begun. Among our commanders of *corps d'armée*, a few have placed their corps in a very good state of training. The majority are old and discouraged, and have no initiative. There is a continual struggle between the *bureaux*, the officers of the War Department, and the generals in command. Our cavalry has very few horses; we have no horses for our artillery and our transports. Our commissariat has not yet been fully reorganized. Our territorial army, the equivalent of the Landwehr, exists only on paper; it has not yet received even a beginning of organization.

It is idle to talk, in view of such facts, of the active preparations of France. The German press makes much noise over our new law of *cadres*; but what are *cadres* without men? and the number of men we can dispose of has not been altered. The military preparations of France have been so slow, so imperfect, as to have been the object of constant criticism in all military circles. But what shall we say of the German preparation? Who can deny that Alsace is full of troops; that all the men of the reserve have been called out, under pretence of trying the new *Mausser* gun; that supplementary rations a short time ago were given to all the horses, to put them in training; that specific instructions were given to all the majors in the Alsatian villages to inform them of their duties in time of war? The officers, *horresco referens*, were already allowed to let their beards grow. Who can deny that on the other side of the Empire great preparations have been long making in the Duchy of Posen, that much railway material has been accumulated on the frontier of Russia?—Germany's force must be felt on all sides.

There is no indiscretion now in saying that to very good and well-informed judges war appeared imminent a little while ago. But these same judges always knew that Germany would not go to war without the consent of Russia and an arrangement with Austria. The new alliance of the three emperors must be preserved. But was there no way to obtain from them a permission in blank? Two arguments could be used with the Russian Emperor—what I may call the argument of humanity, and the argument of a republic. You could say to a humanitarian sovereign: The French are bent on having their revenge; if we wait long, the war will be very sanguinary, it will cover Europe with ruins and victims; let us finish this business while the task is easy, and secure a long peace by a short and almost pacific campaign. You could say to him also: The Republic is not what people thought; France does not tear herself with her own hands; the Republic is becoming respectable, and has a chance of establishing itself in the centre of Europe. Does this suit you? Will you have a Republic of millionaires and noblemen, a decent Republic, become a focus of liberty and equality through all Europe?

The arguments with the Austrian Emperor were different. He had been forced out of the German Confederation; but now that Prussia had accomplished her task, she could not but remember that there were large German communities in Germany. Could not the Emperor of Austria come back and take his place in the great German unity—not, of course, as the representative of this unity, but as a brother of the German Emperor, as a friend, like the King of Bavaria or the King of Saxony? The first place, of course, would be given to him after the Hohenzollern; Austria would derive great advantage from the unification of the laws, of the military armaments, of the tariffs. She would bring with her, as vassals of Germany, all the Slavonic population of the Danube. These offers have not been made so brutally; but the Emperor of Austria knows well that the attraction of great Germany is imperilling his own tenure of power; half his empire has, so to speak, ceased to belong to him, or has at any rate a divided allegiance. He has always been unfortunate, he often fears that he may be ultimately driven from Vienna to Pesth. He is not in a position to refuse much to his powerful neighbors; he remembers Villafranca and Sadowa.

The alliance of the three Emperors, which took place in 1872, is the great feature of the political condition of Europe. Nobody knows exactly what its terms were, and perhaps many things were left in the dark. But the alliance specified that the great questions which might arise in Europe should be examined together, and, if possible, solved together. This was already tying Austria, to a certain extent, to the policy of Germany, as the relations of Russia and Prussia were then and are still of the most cordial character. In point of fact, the moral right of *veto* belongs to the Emperor

Alexander more than to the Emperor Francis Joseph, because Alexander feels himself the master of an empire which Prussia cannot devour, which can suffer great military defeats and still exist, while Austria may lose its own separate existence in new complications, return to the atomic state, and become the prey of Germany and of Russia. So long as this situation lasts, and we do not see how it may be altered, the peace of the world will depend upon the good-will of two or three men, who keep their own counsel, who have nothing to fear from parliamentary government or public opinion. We used to speak in the times of Napoleon III. of the "solitary will" of the Tuileries which ruled the world. The solitary will is no longer in the Tuileries; but, in all our pride of civilization and progress, we cannot deny the fact that the uncontrolled will of a few "solitary wills" can precipitate nations against each other at any moment.

For the present the fear of war seems to have been useless. We are all quiet again, the clouds have gone, the tempest did not begin. But is there no cause of uneasiness in the mere fact that the attention of all the world was centred for a day on the meeting at Berlin? The oracles have said "peace," but the oracles might have said war. The two Emperors as usual dressed in many uniforms and drank each other's health, but they also drank the health of their respective armies. A new meeting will soon take place of the three allied Emperors. The general impression is that no complications are to be feared this season, and we are beginning to consider a deferred danger as a gain. The question of disarmament may be discussed between the three Emperors, but this question resembles that of capital punishment. "Messieurs les assassins, commencez les premiers," said Alphonse Karr when he discussed the abolition of the death penalty. Who will disarm first? Then comes the religious question, which is likely to continue to agitate the whole of Europe. Great researches on the Conclaves are made in the archives of all countries. The King of Italy has tried to find if any of the states of which he may consider himself as the heir had any particular privilege in the Conclave. The Emperor of Austria has a right of veto; and who knows if the German Emperor will not try to use it through Austria? France has her archives full of documents on this interesting question; but she is not in a position which allows her to take the lead in any great movement. We must remain quiet, look on, remember, and learn. It was said of the old *émigrés*, "Ils n'ont rien appris ni rien oublié." There are things which we cannot forget, but there are many which we have to learn.

Correspondence.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE DISPUTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest and hearty assent much that has appeared in your columns denunciatory of the lawlessness of officials in the Southern States, and, supposing that the principles suited to the latitude of New Orleans were applicable also in New Hampshire, I have looked from week to week to see you deal with Gov. Weston and his Council in the same unsparing manner.

As I glanced hastily through "The Week" in your issue of May 27, I thought that my waiting was at last rewarded. What was my surprise when I found that you had reached the conclusion that "no desperate injustice had been done," and this upon the strength of statements made by our Democratic Secretary of State. Turning to Mr. Butterfield's communication, I find it good in many respects as far as it goes, but shortcoming in its great defect.

No exception is taken to the statement of the returns. But the citations in support of the Executive action are faulty in this, that they have no bearing upon the question at issue. Take that one relating to preparation of the ballot: "The full Christian and surname of every person voted for, with the initial letter, etc., etc., shall be written or printed upon every ballot, and every ballot not thus prepared shall be regarded as a blank, and shall not be counted." The history of the law—the important element in determining its interpretation, you will admit—shows that the law was intended to describe the duties of the moderator of the town-meeting. The town-clerk records his declaration of the result of the voting, and sends a copy to the Secretary of State. He in turn lays these returns before the Governor and Council, who are to "examine the returned copies of such records and issue summons to such as appear to be chosen." What is meant by "examine"? Not, as Mr. Butterfield claims, the investigation that the Senate might properly institute as to "the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members," but simply a footing up of the

votes with a view to summon members elect to their duties. The invariable usage of the Executive for eighty years shows this. An illustration in point is the case of E. D. Sanborn of Dartmouth College. It was discovered after his election that he was ineligible, like Mr. Deering in the Fourth District. But though he was a Democrat, a Republican Governor and Council issued a summons to him, rightly deciding that they could not go back of the returns before them. And it is remarkable that our present State authorities think that this does well enough in some cases, for they have issued a certificate of election to Congress to Frank (formerly Franklin) Jones, though denying the right of Natt (formerly Nathaniel) Head to be voted for at all.

The courts too, when appealed to, have always sustained the view that there was no going back of the returns except by the legislative body having cognizance of them, as may be seen in the case of *Bell vs. Pike*, contestants for a certificate of election to Congress in 1873. Here it should be said that the Republicans only asked that the cases under consideration be referred to the court reconstituted by the Democrats last year, which reference was steadily resisted by their opponents and by a paltry trick avoided.

The "uproar" then, as you are pleased to term it, is raised because Gov. Weston and his associates, exceeding their own functions, have arrogated to themselves the duties of the moderators of the town-meetings, and have also set up to be "judges of elections, returns, and qualifications of members of the Senate"—a dangerous departure from the letter and spirit of our laws.

Your Concord correspondent, after all his labored argumentation, seems to be conscious that his party associates have made a rather novel application of the provisions cited, for he says, in a paragraph near the close of his letter, "The men now declared elected were the choice of the people of the districts, but were placed in a minority at the polls through frauds, and they saw no other way of securing their rights except through a resort to this method." Is there not in these words an admission that the *method* is unprecedented?

The fact is that Gov. Weston has apparently been forced, by the most unscrupulous of Bourbon leaders to be found in any State in the Union, to resort to one of those "tricks of interpretation" which you have of late so justly condemned. To ward off, if possible, defeat and exposure, which they have richly merited, they have attempted to arouse "the sleeping giant of our Constitution." Unless signs deceive, they have awakened a feeling of indignation and contempt they had not counted on.

I am, yours respectfully,

C. L. HUBBARD.

REED'S FERRY, N. H., June 1, 1875.

PROFESSOR ADAMS'S ORIGINALITY ASSAILED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Allow me to call your attention to certain coincidences in Professor C. K. Adams's work on 'Democracy and Monarchy in France' which seem to me to need explanation. On page 41, *sqq.*, Mr. Adams remarks :

"The work [*'De l'Esprit'* of Helvetius] sustains the same relations to ethics that atheism does to the Christian religion. The author sets out with the declaration that the difference between man and other animals is simply the difference in their external form; that if Nature, instead of giving us hands and flexible joints, had terminated our limbs with hoofs like those of a horse, we should have remained wanderers on the earth, chiefly anxious to find our needful supply of food and to protect ourselves against the attacks of wild beasts [here the original passage is quoted in a foot-note]. That the structure of our bodies is thus the sole cause of our superiority over the beasts, he argues from the fundamental doctrine that our thoughts are simply the product of two faculties which we have in common with the beasts, namely, the faculty of receiving impressions from external objects, and the faculty of remembering those impressions. . . . To take any other view is to allow ourselves to be deceived by conventional expressions and by the prejudices of ignorant men . . . our notions of virtue and duty must be tested by reference to our senses; in other words, by the gross amount of physical enjoyment which they afford. . . . Cousin has well expressed the fact in saying, '*Le siècle de Louis XV. se reconnut dans l'ouvrage d'Helvétius*' (*'Hist. de la Philos.,'* I. Série, vol. iii. p. 201) [foot-note]. . . . Surin, though a zealous opponent of Helvetius, declares that 'strangers the most eminent for their dignity and their culture desire to be introduced to a philosopher whose name is spoken in all parts of Europe.' Brissot, who wrote twenty years and more after the publication of '*De l'Esprit*,' says that the system of Helvetius was in the greatest vogue (*'Mémoires,'* vol. i. p. 339). Turgot refers to it as a system that was praised 'with a kind of fury' (*'Œuvres,'* vol. ix. p. 297); and Georgel declares that the book was to be found on every table ('*ce livre se trouvait sur toutes les tables*') (*'Mémoires,'* vol. ii. p. 256). . . . Madame Duffaut, a person who represented the intelligence of her epoch, could say with truth, 'The success of the book of Helvetius is not surprising: he is the man who has told the secret of everybody.'"

Buckle says (vol. i. p. 789, *sqq.*, ed. 1857, London) :

"In this work [*'De l'Esprit'* of Helvetius] principles are laid down which bear exactly the same relation to ethics that atheism bears to theology. Helvétius, at the beginning of his enquiry, assumes that the difference between man and other animals is the result of a difference in their external form; and that if, for example, our wrists, instead of ending with hands and flexible fingers, had merely ended like a horse's foot, we should always have remained wanderers on the face of the earth . . . having no other concern but to avoid the attacks of wild beasts and find the needful supply of our daily food [here the original passage is quoted in a foot-note]. That the structure of our bodies is the sole cause of our boasted superiority becomes evident when we consider that our thoughts are simply the product of two faculties which we have in common with all other animals, the faculty of receiving impressions from external objects, and the faculty of remembering these impressions when received. . . . To take any other view is to allow ourselves to be deceived by conventional expressions which have no foundation except in the prejudices of ignorant men. . . . all notions of duty and of virtue must be tested by their relations to the senses: in other words, by the gross amount of physical enjoyment to which they give rise. . . . le siècle de Louis XV. se reconnut dans l'ouvrage d'Helvétius (Cousin, '*Hist. de la Philos.,'* I. Série, vol. iii. p. 201). . . . Madame Duffaut, who passed her long life in the midst of French society, and was one of the keenest observers of her time, has expressed this with great happiness. The work of Helvétius, she says, is popular, since he is the man who has told everybody their own secret. . . . Saint Surin, a zealous opponent of Helvétius, admits that '*les étrangers les plus éminents par leurs dignités ou par leurs lumières désiraient d'être introduits chez un philosophe dont le nom retentissait dans toute l'Europe.*' . . . Brissot (*'Mémoires,'* vol. i. p. 339) says that in 1775 '*le système d'Helvétius avait alors la plus grande vogue.*' Turgot, who wrote against it, complains that it was praised '*avec une sorte de fureur*' (*'Œuvres de Turgot,'* vol. ix. p. 297); and Georgel (*'Mémoires,'* vol. ii. p. 256) says: '*Ce livre, écrit avec un style plein de chaleur et d'images, se trouvait sur toutes les toilettes.*'"

Mr. Adams concludes his sketch of Helvetius by saying that "these references might be reinforced by others drawn from the various branches of French literature, but it is unnecessary." Buckle gives one or two others. After disposing of Helvetius Mr. Adams makes up his notice of Condorcet in precisely the same manner. From his examination of philosophical theories, Buckle proceeds to consider the influence these exercised on the spread of physical science. Mr. Adams does the same, but he mentions not a name nor a fact that is not contained in Buckle. Every one of his anecdotes (such as Hume's remark about atheists at the table of Baron d'Holbach), all the authorities cited (such as Voltaire and the Archbishop of Toulouse), are to be found in Buckle. All this without a hint that Mr. Adams was aware of Buckle's existence! After twenty or more nearly clear pages Mr. Adams's foot-notes again appear (p. 76), the subject being Rousseau. Remarks about him by Bonaparte, Hume, Lord Holland, Pathay, etc., are quoted. They all are given in Buckle, p. 767.

But Buckle is not the only author Mr. Adams has read with profit. He often quotes Tocqueville, but sometimes forgets his quotation-marks—thus :

ADAMS, p. 124.

TOCQUEVILLE (MEMOIR AND REMAINS)
i. 263.

The Republic, before which all Europe trembled, had to be organized in a positive and permanent form; and the form determined upon was the Directory. But no sooner were the Directors in power, than the evil influence of those revolutionary ideas of which I have spoken began painfully to show their influence. The Government had at its disposal a formidable army, and perhaps the greatest generals that had appeared in the world since the downfall of Rome, and yet it began to totter the very instant it arose. In its infancy, it was devoured by innumerable diseases; during the whole of its short life, it steadied itself with difficulty, and seemed on the point of falling under the weight of its follies and vices.

One of the most extraordinary subjects of contemplation among the shifting scenes of human life, is the interior of the Republic before which all Europe trembled. The Government, which had at its disposal the most formidable army and perhaps the greatest generals that had appeared in the world since the downfall of Rome, tottered at every instant, steadying itself with difficulty, always on the point of falling under the weight of its vices and its follies.

Chapter IV. of Mr. Adams's book is called "The Rise of Napoleonism," and was first printed as a review of Lanfrey and other works in the *North American Review*. Now, there are various kinds of reviews, all equally legitimate, provided only that in writing one kind the reviewer does not pretend to give another. A review which simply sums up and condenses an extensive work may be very useful, though this variety is more frequently found in the *Literary World* than in the *North American*. Reviewers are sometimes exceptionally proficient in the department of study to which the work under discussion belongs, and are able to draw upon facts or opinions which have escaped the notice of the author. With this premise, let us look at Mr. Adams's work. There is not a fact mentioned which is not con-

tained in Lanfrey, yet he so manipulates the facts as sometimes to induce the impression that he is adding to and supplementing the facts. Thus, on page 150, he adds in a foot-note: "These are severe words, but here are two facts upon which they are founded," and gives the letter to the Archduke Carl, and the story of Napoleon's skirmish to amuse his mistress, crediting the latter to Las Casas. This credit of course is given with the text in Lanfrey, p. 178 (Eng. trans.) It should also be said that whole pages of his article are but free translations from his author.

Not even Mr. Adams's title is original, for about three years ago Mr. H. Reeve published 'Royal and Republican France,' a work of precisely the same character.—Your obedient servant,
M. G.

LIFE-INSURANCE COMMISSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to correct one or two of the erroneous statements of your correspondent under the above caption on page 375 of the last number of your paper.

So far from the commissions of the company named by him being only two per cent. upon the premium receipts, I venture to say they are fully five times that ratio. The exact items cannot be ascertained from the reports of that company, but the ratio of expenses of management (including commissions to agents, which are fully one-half) was 20.16 per cent. in 1873 (see Report Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts, 1874, page xxxv.)

But it is not my purpose to speak of individual companies. The average ratio of expenses to total income (including interest upon investments) among all the life-insurance companies doing business in Massachusetts during the eight years 1866-73 was 16.60 per cent. (Official Report Ins. Com., 1874, pages cii.-ev.) This was equivalent to an average annual expense of about six and one-half per cent. of the entire accumulated assets of these companies, while the savings-banks of that State were managed during that time at an average annual expense of less than three-tenths of one per cent. Now, six and one-half per cent. is about as much as can be realized as interest on investments by a well-managed savings-bank. Hence it will be seen that a sum equal to the interest earnings upon the entire assets or accumulated deposits of policy-holders of all the life-insurance companies was annually consumed by them in expenses of management! And yet your correspondent, an editor and ex-agent, claims that no similar business in this country is managed at so small an expense! Comment is unnecessary.

Not only are the expenses of our companies enormous and beyond all reason, but the terms upon which policy-holders can terminate their insurances and withdraw their deposits—their own money, paid in advance for insurances or endowments in the future—are unjust and unequal. This tax is seldom less than fifty per cent. of the deposits, while in many cases it amounts to a confiscation of the entire amount.

What is needed in life insurance is a reform in the contract itself; greater economy and accountability of management; and a covenant to return the full *equity* of a policy-holder in the assets in cash should he from choice or necessity terminate his insurance. Life insurance as hitherto administered is on the wane. There is less in force to-day than there was two years ago, and it is steadily diminishing. The best among the companies find it difficult to hold their own.

If we would have life insurance occupy the position it ought to attain, the companies must conduct the business upon the consolidated principles of security, economy, equity, and accountability.

WESTERN UNION BUILDING, June 4, 1875.

SHEPPARD HOMANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent, Prof. Newcomb, in urging the abolition of the agency system by life-assurance companies, fails to use what may well be deemed one of the strongest arguments against it. Were the honest statements of a large number of successful life-agents to be procured on the subject, it would doubtless be found that the most potential argument habitually used in the procurement of applications, even among the best of them, is a *bonus* allowed to the applicant out of the agent's first year's commission, amounting in some instances to the entire commission. The agent who will give up to the applicant the largest portion of his own earnings from the proposed transaction is the one most likely to succeed in securing the application, with little or no regard to the comparative excellence of the companies represented. This is an evil which of course has resulted from the fierce competition between the companies for business. Some agents do not follow this practice, but almost all deprecate it, and, when complained of,

plead self-defence—that others do it, and they must do it or lose business which they might otherwise secure. The assumed necessity of doing business on the "high-pressure plan," as a means of actual safety to the companies, is the real secret of their fierce and degrading rivalry, and, while some of its results, in the way of immense volumes of "new business" transacted in a given time, are astonishing, other results, among them the enormous and disgraceful increase of the "expense ratios," are, to the policy-holder (when he understands them), quite disheartening.

Truly, it will be the millennium of life assurance when the companies can secure enough business to keep them from insolvency without the use of agents, but it would seem that the time has hardly yet come for dispensing with their services. People *will not go* to the life offices and take out policies without solicitation, and no one can solicit unless he is fully and intelligently prepared, by proper study of the subject, for such duty. Your correspondent certainly realizes the evil, only it is worse than he supposes, for instead of ten per cent. of the premiums being devoted to the payment of agents, there are few companies whose commissions do not equal, and many exceed, *twenty-five* per cent. But there must be a very great change in the uninsured, so that they will voluntarily seek insurance, before we shall have done with that much-maligned and long-suffering public benefactor, the life-insurance agent.—Very truly yours,
AN OLD AGENT.

A YALE PH.D.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The account which you recently published of the taking of the doctor's degree at a German university only deepens the impression made upon me by a similar story in Hart's 'German Universities.' The German thoroughness confronts us as something almost unattainable; but I believe we have at Yale and Harvard courses of graduate study which demand very exact work of a man, and which terminate with no laughing matter of an examination. Not by way of complacent comparison with the far superior German system of education, nor at all by way of boasting, I venture to send you a very brief account of my examination for the degree of Ph.D. at New Haven two years ago. There was no "swallow-tail" nor white kids about it; in fact, it was decidedly a "short-hair" performance; but I felt, when I was through the ordeal, as though the faculty must know microscopically what I had been doing for the two years previous.

I had devoted myself principally to Sanskrit, Indo-European comparative philology, and Greek dramatic literature. About three months before the close of the second academic year, I sent in to the special faculty of the Graduate Course a scheme of the work which I had done (partly in private and partly under direct instruction from them), offering nearly all of it for examination, and stating the subject on which I proposed to write a thesis for their inspection if allowed to be examined. My proposals were accepted, and the time set for my examinations. I spent the intervening time in preparing my thesis, for which I had simply taken a few notes, in collecting and copying my lecture notes, and in reviewing and comparing the texts which I had read. My first examination was in the general principles of linguistic science, including, besides Prof. Whitney's book on the subject, about a half-year's lectures and discussions from him. The examination was entirely in writing. I was handed a list of eight leading topics, on six of which I was expected to write a short but comprehensive paper. I wrote three hours steadily, and finished somewhat hurriedly five out of the eight topics. My next examination came two days after in Sanskrit. I had mastered the grammar after a fashion, and read five or six books of the Nala, two of the Hitopadesa, and a little more than half of the Bhagavad-Gita. The examination was oral, and when I say that Prof. Whitney conducted it I need not add that it was searching.

A day or two after I met the same professor again, and was requested to write what I had to say upon six topics in comparative grammar (Ind. Eur.) The outlines of this subject had been given us in lectures, and we had done more or less reading in connection with them. If I remember rightly, I showed much favoritism in treating the different topics.

Lastly came my Greek. I had offered for examination four plays of Æschylus, including the Orestean trilogy, two of Sophocles, two of Euripides, and three comedies of Aristophanes, no plays read in the academic course being counted. To accompany the study of the choral passages I had read all of Theokritos, but did not review this for examination. My examination in this department was oral and written, lasting four hours, and covering every conceivable topic of any importance, as it seemed to me. This over, I presented my thesis to Prof. Packard, its subject falling within his department, and went off for a vacation. I was not told whether I passed "summa cum laude" or not, probably to spare my feelings, though

I believe no distinct grades are recognized in the degrees. It might have a good effect to introduce them.

It is still my *summum bonum* to study in Germany, but I really believe that we have a *bonum* here in America.

Very respectfully yours,

PH.D. (New Haven).

HARTFORD, May 30, 1873.

Notes.

THE 'American Newspaper Directory' for 1875 of George P. Rowell & Co. is slightly bulkier than that of last year, and shows no falling off in the care with which it is edited. The newspaper business, according to the summary in the preface, was not prosperous in 1874. There was, to be sure, an unprecedentedly large number of new journals started, at the rate of almost six for each working day, but the net increase was less than a third of this number, and more papers than usual changed hands, were reduced in size, or were suspended altogether; and generally there was a material decrease in circulation. Indiana was most prolific in fresh ventures (84), the nearest approach being Iowa with 55, Illinois with 54, and Missouri with 49; among Eastern States, Pennsylvania took the lead with 38.—G. P. Putnam's Sons' 'Best Reading' appears in a revised edition, with a supplement, and with a select classified list of English and American publications in 1872-73. A similar hand-book is 'What and How to Read,' by G. A. F. Van Rhyne (D. Appleton & Co.), but it is hardly so well classified or so discriminating as the foregoing. The defects of both may be seen under *Darwinism* in the former, and under *Evolution* in the latter.—Hurd & Houghton's handy 'Satchel Guide to Europe' appears in its fourth annual edition, with revisions to a late date. Is it not, however, an error on p. xiv. to say that our "Government tax of five dollars [on passports] is abolished"?—'The French at Home,' by Albert Rhodes, with numerous illustrations, and a new story by "Edward Garrett," are among the summer announcements of Dodd & Mead.—J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press: 'The Undivine Comedy, and other Poems,' by Count Sigismund Krasinski; 'The Mystery; or, Platonic Love,' by Geo. S. Crosby; and 'Principia; or, Basis of Social Science,' by R. J. Wright.

—"A letter just received from the writer of the account of the examination for a degree at Heidelberg," writes a relative of his, "which was published in the number of the *Nation* for May 20, says he was mistaken in the statement that he was the first American to receive the degree of Ph.D. *summa cum laude*. It had been conferred before, but it seems not to have been known to any of the American students at the university, nor to any of his German friends there. I may add that the young doctor left town immediately after receiving his degree to pass the vacation at Paris, and that this correction was made in the first letter written after his return, on learning of his unintentional mistake."

—The next Revolutionary event concerning which we must all post ourselves in order to celebrate its hundredth anniversary intelligently, is of course the battle of Bunker Hill. Three years ago a summary account of this engagement was compiled by Mr. David Pulsifer, and published in handy form by A. Williams & Co., Boston, and, with the correction of a few typographical errors, it is still to be recommended as a *vade-mecum* for those who mean to attend the celebration next week. The contemporary map of Boston and Charlestown which it gives is alone worth the price of this little work, and is in fact complementary to one just issued in connection with Mr. Richard Frothingham's history of the battle (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) This is in every respect a fuller work than Mr. Pulsifer's, and treats with all the minuteness possible at this day the disposition and action of regiments and individuals on the American side. Mr. Frothingham reproduces the spirit of the times without importing into it any of his own feelings, and the British tourist can safely pocket his faithful and unbiassed narrative and read it at the very foot of the Monument without a blush. It will not only keep him from the common error of his countrymen in America who shudderingly glance up the lofty shaft when pointed out the spot where Warren "fell," but will also introduce him to several other heroes who, partly because they survived the battle and partly for social reasons, have not acquired the same renown as the Boston physician. While nothing can ever detract from the bravery of Gen. Putnam, it is apparent that he has had rather more than his share of the credit of Bunker Hill. The brunt of it was borne by Col. Wm. Prescott, of Pepperell, who, like so many other officers and men, had smelt gunpowder before in the French wars. He walked the parapet of the redoubt under the British cannonade, and at the close of the fight was the last to leave the place,

warding off with his sword the bayonets aimed at him on all sides. "He did not run, but stepped long, with his sword up." He was the grandfather of the historian Wm. H. Prescott, who married a grand-daughter of Capt. Linzee, commanding the British sloop-of-war, the *Falcon*, a participant in the cannonade which Prescott braved so coolly. The crossed swords of these two grandfathers may now be seen by the curious in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The rail-fence breastworks of Bunker Hill would doubtless have attracted more attention at the time, and perhaps have played an important part in the subsequent warfare, had they given the Americans victory instead of helping to make defeat glorious. The same humble bulwarks turned the scale at Gettysburg against the attacking army. Their earlier and their later use seems to confirm Putnam's homely dictum, quoted by Mr. Frothingham, that "the Americans are not afraid of their heads, though very much afraid of their shins: if you cover these, they will fight for ever."

—The *Tribune* proposes, in the interest of native literature, that every book received under the copyright law at the Library of Congress (which perhaps we may in time come to designate as the National Library) shall be at once entered in the card catalogue, by having "the title and all necessary information" put in type, with the needful cross-references. Of the card or cards thus prepared as many impressions shall be made as the librarian "has libraries on his list of correspondence," these libraries paying for the privilege "a very slight annual subscription fee." The *Tribune* thinks "it is plain that a very minute system of indexing would thus be stimulated" (it certainly would in the National Library), and that the corresponding libraries would receive notice of every publication issued in the country. "They may only buy a tithe, but as fast as they buy a book they would have its title-card all ready, only waiting for shelf and alcove number." This conclusion of a grand scheme reminds one forcibly of the Toodles principle in buying door-plates. The fact is that the catalogue proposed would furnish very little if any aid to the minor libraries in making their purchases, above what they can get readily and gratuitously from the various publishers' circulars and the trade-organ; and on every account we do not see why it should be restricted to our meagre even if respectable native literature, and not extended to every kind by which the National Library is enriched. There is no need, of course, to discuss the advantage for the smaller libraries of owning the catalogues of the larger, and the more the better; but when these take the shape of cards, the cost of providing room for such an index to universal literature (for that is what it amounts to) may easily exceed the whole purchasing income of a weak institution. This part of the cost has not received the *Tribune's* consideration, and we suspect that Mr. Spofford would say that the other part, namely, that of printing and distributing the cards, has been much underestimated. The prevailing practice is to write cards, instead of printing them, and even that has been found tolerably expensive; but it is vastly more expeditious than printing, and an invention like the papyrograph would seem to furnish the requisite facilities for producing duplicates. As for the "saving of a vast amount of clerical labor" by the *Tribune's* method, it may be questioned whether this is any proper concern of the Government, and whether the result would be to foster intelligent cataloguing or the reverse.

—Most people who have heard of the Yosemite Valley have also heard of Mr. J. M. Hutchings, whose house of entertainment has so long been one of the "institutions" of the place. He has been recently ejected from the Valley by order of court, and so great were the rejoicings over this event that guns were fired by some of the citizens of California, and other demonstrations made, which, coming to the ears of Mr. Hutchings, caused him and his friends so much pain that a counter-demonstration of Yosemite tourists was determined upon; and a meeting was held on the 19th of last month, the presiding officer being General Garfield of Ohio, at which a resolution of sympathy and indignation was unanimously adopted. This resolution, the construction and grammar of which are somewhat peculiar, declares that, "Whereas, The name of J. M. Hutchings is intimately connected with Yosemite Valley and its history, and who, by his pen, his lectures, and his enterprise, has unfolded the grandeur, the sublimity, as well as the beauty of this charming Valley, so that it has now more than a national reputation, to which the tourists of the world turn with delight; and whereas, on his ejection from his hotel and his home, which he has so honored and made pleasant to thousands during the past twenty years, certain men, from envy or malice, have, by the firing of guns or other powder preparations, outraged, in their mad triumph, every sense of propriety; therefore, those present "hereby condemn this outrage here perpetrated," "extend to Mr. Hutchings" their "cordial sympathy and good-

will," express the hope that "malice and ill-will may not always prevail amidst this scene of beauty and grandeur," and also that the "old pioneer" may always "find a home to welcome his friends." The casual reader might infer from this that the "old pioneer" had been the victim of ruthless tyranny; and in order to correct this impression the Yosemite Commissioners have, through their secretary, Mr. William Ashburner, published their side of the story, which differs in some particulars from that of Mr. Hutchings.

—The Commissioners say that, in the first place, before May, 1874, the only actual settler in the Valley was a man named Lamon, so that Mr. Hutchings cannot possibly have "honored and made pleasant" his hotel and home to thousands "during the past twenty years," and that, as a matter of fact, Mr. Hutchings moved into the Valley and laid claim to 160 acres of land as a pre-emptor about six weeks before the passage of the Act of Congress of 1864, granting the Valley to the State of California inalienably "for all time." This move might, of course, be regarded by hostile critics as that of one desirous of "squatting" on other people's property, inasmuch as the Yosemite had never been surveyed by the Government, and it is impossible to gain any rights as a *bonâ-fide* pre-emptor without a survey. But however that may be, the Commissioners, not wishing to give Mr. Hutchings any trouble, providing he would recognize their superior title, offered him a ten-years' lease at a nominal rent. This he declined, preferring to stand his chances at law. An ejectment suit was begun and carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided that Mr. Hutchings had no valid claim whatever. The Commissioners, however, evidently finding Mr. Hutchings rather a difficult person to deal with, and probably being mortally afraid of what their State Legislature and Congress might do, instead of ejecting him on the spot, allowed him to remain in possession, and on their recommendation a special commission was appointed, and \$60,000 appropriated by the State to indemnify all Yosemite claimants. This, of course, was not done by the Legislature unsolicited, for the old pioneer had by this time become quite a public character, a lecturer, author, and accomplished lobbyist, as may be seen from the further fact that he now got the Legislature of California to pass an act awarding to him and Lamon one hundred and sixty acres of land apiece. This act was illegal, as the land was inalienable, but of the \$60,000 he got \$24,000 for his "claim," which, as we say, the Supreme Court decided to be good for nothing. In November, 1874, he accepted this sum, and immediately made application for a lease, declining, however, to offer any definite amount of rent. The Commissioners proceeded to advertise the premises, whereupon Mr. Hutchings entered an appearance, and informed Mr. Raymond, one of the Commissioners, that it was fortunate he had got his \$24,000, as otherwise he (Hutchings) "should certainly have assassinated him" (Raymond), adding that "he had had a gun loaded for that purpose for a long time." The place was, however, let, against the protest of Hutchings, who published a notice that he should contest any disposition of the property by the "so-called Commissioners," and that he should apply to the next Legislature for the privilege of leasing it himself. The Commissioners have, however, ruthlessly turned him out, and the poor man is now wandering about, a homeless outcast, with a fortune of \$24,000 given him for a property to which he had no title, and a claim against the State for the injustice done in giving him the money. Considering the relations of the United States to the Valley, it would be interesting to know what the grounds of sympathy for the old pioneer on the part of Mr. Garfield are, and how he can explain his behavior in presiding at this ridiculous meeting.

—We learn from the prospectus of Sainte-Pelaye's 'Dictionnaire Historique,' just received from F. W. Christern, that the completed work (see the *Nation*, No 513) will consist of ten volumes in 4to, of about 500 pages each, and will be issued in one hundred numbers. The subscription price will be three francs a number for copies on hand-made "papier des Vosges," and five francs for those on Holland paper, of which a small number only will be printed. The subscription list will be closed as soon as it contains five hundred names, and the price per number advanced to five and eight francs. The names of the subscribers will be published at the end of the last volume, and they will receive gratuitously a supplementary number containing the titles of the MSS. and editions from which the author has taken his citations. It is hoped that the work will be finished in two or three years. The prospectus further contains the 'Projet d'un Glossaire François,' published by Sainte-Pelaye in 1756, is followed by some specimens of the proposed glossary. We may properly mention here that Auguste Brachet has lately prepared a French grammar for secondary instruction, which is designed to awaken in your g-

er students an interest in the historical study of their language, and may be advantageously consulted by older scholars on this side of the Atlantic who seldom stray beyond the covers of Fasquelle. We observe also that Hachette announces as in press, by the same author, a continuation of the extracts from the older French writers, entitled 'Recueil de morceaux choisis des écrivains français du IXe siècle à la fin du XVe.'

—Guizot's library proved less rare and valuable than the public was led to expect from his long literary career, and the same thing is to be said of his collection of autographs, which was sold last month. The number of them was inconsiderable. A letter of Napoleon's (Oct. 11, 1791) to Pozzo di Borgo fetched 620 francs, and 1,000 were paid for letters from Cardinal Richelieu to the Duc de Luynes which were well worth the money. A doubtful joint letter of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI. to the Princesse de Lamballe found a purchaser at 450 francs. For some reason a letter of Madame Elizabeth's (the sister of Louis XVI.), though entered in the catalogue, No. 3,799, was not put up for sale. That it is a forged autograph is clearly proved in *Polybiblion* for May by M. de Beaucourt, who six years ago published an *Étude* on the letters of the lady in question, in which he enumerated sixteen instances of this kind of fraud which had been perpetrated upon her. They are all, including the seventeenth, which had deceived M. Guizot, and one in the British Museum, counterfeits of original letters addressed to the Marquise de Raigecourt, and which have never been out of the possession of the family of the recipient. Great liberties were taken by the falsifier, who omitted whole passages at pleasure, apparently to suit the size of his paper, and who also corrected freely the faulty grammar and orthography which characterize the genuine productions of Madame Elizabeth. The fourth volume of Guizot's 'History of France' for young people has appeared, and ends with the death of Louis XIV. From this period to 1789 the work will be taken up and completed by Mme. de Witt, in accordance with the plan, notes, and suggestions of her father, whom she had assisted on the volumes already published.

—English readers of Manzoni's incomparable romance, 'I Promessi Sposi,' have doubtless often felt the need of some commentary to explain its many historical allusions, and to throw some light on those two mysterious characters, *l'Innominato* and the nun of Monza. Such a comment was prepared as early as 1831 by the now famous Italian historian, Cesare Cantù, and has been frequently reprinted since then, both separately and together with the romance it explains. It has been for some time out of print, however, and we are glad to call our readers' attention to a new and cheap edition, 'Commento storico ai Promessi Sposi, o la Lombardia nel secolo XVII.' (Milan, 1874, price two francs). It contains in an admirable form everything necessary for a full understanding of the 'Promessi Sposi.' Many of the illustrative documents are drawn from the various Italian archives, and are here published for the first time.

I. GENERAL SHERMAN'S MEMOIRS.*

IT is a pity that a book of this kind should be received with an outburst of partisan attack and partisan laudation, and yet, such is the public temper just now, that anything like a calm judgment seems next to impossible. The personal recollections of a great soldier ought not to excite political feeling, and, nevertheless, the criticisms on Sherman's 'Memoirs' are very generally colored by the politics of the writers of them. To us it seems that it would be difficult for an important public character to show that he had "turned his back on politics" by any better proof than the publication of such a book. If there is anywhere in it a purpose to court political favor, we are quite unequal to the subtlety required to discover it. To our way of thinking, the man would be crazy indeed who should expect it to help him into the Presidency; and no less a quarry is supposed to be worthy the aim of the writer. It looks to us like a more intelligible and explicit renunciation of worldly ambition than the President's late letter to the Pennsylvania Republicans; and we cannot, by any effort of the imagination, make a hope for a political nomination consist with the printing of so much matter that will touch powerful enemies on the raw.

The history of the book itself gives a better notion of the reasons for its existence, and in a way that is natural and simple enough. General Sherman had determined to do what all of us thought he ought to do. He wrote his recollections and impressions of the events of the late war, intending to leave them for publication after his death. No doubt he was urged in many ways not to defer so long the satisfaction of public curiosity, and to a man of his temperament there would be much force in a shrewdly put argument

* 'Memoirs of General William T. Sherman. By Himself.' Two vols. 8vo New York: D. Appleton & Co.

that it would look timid, and as if he did not choose to face the storm of his own brewing, if he should postpone the printing till after his death. At any rate, by one argument or another, he was induced to change his mind and publish immediately, and if he enjoys a breeze he certainly has enough of it. A book written for posthumous publication must, from the very nature of the case, need rewriting before most people would think of giving it to the world whilst its sharp things could return to plague them. We tickle our ribs with the descriptions Greville gives of such scenes as that between William the Fourth and the Duchess of Kent at the King's own table; but fancy the courtly Clerk of the Privy Council publishing any such "truth of history" during his own lifetime! The very thought would have been apoplexy to him. But General Sherman is not a Clerk of the Privy Council, and though he would probably have suppressed some of the more piquant bits of gossip or of personal criticism if he had had a literary mentor at his elbow to hint at the conventional differences between posthumous memoirs and other history, we suspect that for lack of other fighting he more than half enjoys the rattling skirmish just now going on in his literary front.

Certainly the book is not dull. Josh Billings's hornet was scarcely less so. One is strongly impressed with the belief that the author has a naïve unconsciousness of saying anything stinging, even when describing his impressions of Frémont in California or McClernand's enthusiasm after the fight at Arkansas Post. The style is generally direct and clear, having the prime merit of telling plainly what the writer had seen and felt vividly, and consequently the sympathy of the reader goes strongly with him to the end. Military memoirs of the personal kind are among the most fascinating of books, and Fezensac's narration of his experience in the wars of the Emperor Napoleon is a late and admirable instance in proof of the fact that even the petty personal relations of the writer give life and oftentimes charming color to the scenes. To know what to tell and what to leave unsaid is a matter of literary instinct quite as much as of training, and we must not complain if all do not have the artistic sense in the same degree. An autobiography is necessarily and essentially egotistical, and this one is no more so than the average, whilst very few of those who have taken the world into their personal confidence have a better right to assume that the world will be pleased with the intimacy.

The narrative opens with the author's reporting for duty as a lieutenant of artillery at Fort Moultrie in the spring of 1846. There is something dramatic in the beginning of such a career at such a place, and Sherman's immediate associates were nearly all men destined to play an important part in the war of the Rebellion. There were Robert Anderson, Halleck, Thomas, Ord, Reynolds, and T. W. Sherman, who did good service in the Union armies afterward, and of those destined to bear arms for the Southern Confederacy there were Bragg, Ewell, and C. Q. Tompkins. It is only by learning how close and intimate the life of the old army officers made their association with each other, that we can understand how the Rebellion cut through their best friendships and rooted up the nearest relationships in life. A sense of this evidently prompted Gen. Sherman to enumerate the list of young soldiers who then began with him their military career.

The narrative of the occupation of California by the United States forces, the discovery of the gold mines, and its effect upon the social and political history of the country, the history of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, are all vividly given, and are an interesting and useful addition to the history of the Pacific coast.

Sherman's own career as a business man in civil life, from the period of his resignation from the army in 1853 till his appointment as Superintendent of the Louisiana Military School in 1859, is honorable to him, and seems fairly to show that he had the confidence of the experienced business men with whom he was connected, and that any lack of success in their enterprises was due to general causes and not to any incapacity or lack of industry or energy on his own part. So also, his conduct as managing and responsible head of the Louisiana Academy appears to have merited the approval of the State authorities, under whose control it was, and his prompt and peremptory withdrawal when a longer connection would have compromised his patriotism, was entirely in keeping with his character and his subsequent devotion to the cause of the country. The passing criticisms of the press, which seem to have made the General feel it necessary to give considerable space to these parts of his life, have been evidently better remembered by him than by the rest of us, and he could easily have afforded to let them pass without refutation. Yet the composition of any character is so much the effect of all the disciplinary processes through which it has gone, that we are perhaps more indebted to him for a clear knowledge of himself than he intended, and his self-vindication from anonymous and forgotten slanders will serve the better purpose of showing the progress of his own intellectual and moral growth.

The outbreak of the rebellion found Sherman quite ready to decide that he could not remain in a seceding State; but between the responsibility for the support of his family and the impulse to join the Union army at once, the decision as to the remainder of his duty was not so easy. He tells us enough to show two things: first, that for a time he was not disposed to take any active part in the contest, saying the politicians might get us out of the "fix" they had gotten us into; and, second, that until the call for three years' troops was issued he did not see enough in a military career to attract the ambition of a man who retained much of the feelings and modes of thought of the professional soldier. He would not go with the South, but he was only half inclined to take up arms for the North. Yet a man of military education and recognized energy, who was a brother of John Sherman and son-in-law of Thomas Ewing, could not lack invitations to return to the regular army, and, early in May, his name was sent to the Senate for confirmation as Colonel of the Thirteenth Regular Infantry, among the earliest of the appointments under the laws for the increase of the army under the organization for three years. Sherman thus found himself back in his old place in his profession, or rather in a higher place in it than he could have reached in the ordinary course of events had he never resigned. As his narrative pretty clearly indicates that he had regretted leaving the army, it is fair to assume that this mode of return to it was to him a fortunate turn in his career; and his prompt acceptance of it would be a matter of course unless his sentiments had been strongly opposed to the National Government, which they were not. His action at this juncture, therefore, may fairly be regarded as determined by professional considerations, and his zeal for the national cause, like that of many others of the regular army officers, grew during the contest itself, and in part at least by the natural influence of fighting for it. His patriotism was genuine, but he was not a Republican in politics, and was not one of those from whom came the spontaneous outburst of uncalculating self-devotion which swept through the loyal States when Sumter was fired upon.

Once in the army again, he applied himself to his work with the instincts of a true soldier and the grasp of a man of quick and clear intellect. The war gave him his opportunity, and his successes and fame were fairly the result of ability and good work. As a subordinate, he was free from intrigue and gave a loyal and earnest support to his commander. As a commander, he was ready to take the responsibility of his own acts, and usually just in awarding the due meed of praise or blame to his subordinates. It is only in the case of officers who might be regarded as rivals in his own rank that he falls into unnecessary acerbity of criticism or belittling and contemptuous comment on their actions.

In his account of the first battle of Bull Run, Sherman brings out clearly the fact that the opposing armies had neither of them acquired the coherence necessary to make it possible to handle them in the proper military sense of the term, or to prevent a check being quickly turned into a panic. His frank admission that the officers in command deserved little praise or blame for their respective parts in the action has the air of transparent truth, as does his amusing account of the receipt of the news of their promotion when Heintzelman was insisting that they were all to be cashiered instead. Equally sincere, no doubt, is his statement that when he was transferred to the West he desired that his command might be a subordinate one. His view of the difficulties of an independent command, including the dangers he had just seen raw troops create for commanders whose plans were well digested, the troublesome character of the semi-political duties of department commanders, the doubts as to his own ability to spring at once from the command of a handful of regulars to the manœuvring of real armies, all taught him to seek the safer and more modest career of a brigade or division commander whilst he should test his own powers and learn the rôle of a general. Such caution in a man of so impulsive a temperament shows a mingling of practical sense with his enterprise, and helps account for his final achievements.

His description of Shiloh, though evidently drawn from the standpoint of the Army of the Tennessee, is a pretty fair one, and does no real injustice to the Army of the Cumberland. He labors to prove that the hard defensive fight of Grant's army on the 6th of April was not a rout, nor even a surprise, but left that command in condition for a possible resumption of the offensive on the morning of the 7th; but he also very frankly admits that Buell's army made the victory certain, and praises in unstinted terms the fighting of his divisions, enumerating by name not only the division commanders, but specifying also the brigades and even regiments which attracted his attention by their gallant conduct. He says of Buell's whole command that their "soldierly movements at once gave confidence to our newer and less disciplined men," and "concedes that Gen. McCook's splendid division from Kentucky drove back the enemy along the Corinth road, which was the

great centre of this field of battle," etc. All this is in his official report, which is reproduced in full in the body of the memoirs, and reaffirmed. Certainly nothing more could be asked unless it be to admit that Grant's army did nothing on the 7th, and ought to have surrendered on the night of the 6th. The most jealous of Buell's old army officers would hardly ask that.

On another point of common criticism, however, it must be conceded that Sherman does not make an equally good defence: that is, the neglect to entrench or make any kind of cover on the front towards Corinth. The argument that such breastworks would have diminished the confidence of the troops seems wrong in theory, and wholly out of accord with all the later experience of the war. The truth probably is that the officers in command had not yet freed themselves from the traditions of European tactics, and had not learned—as this bit of experience tended strongly to teach them—the necessity of a constant use of axe and spade in a country of which almost every mile would be regarded by a European tactician as impracticable. The bitter controversy which has been had on the subject of this battle makes both Grant and Sherman chary of admitting any mistakes, but this admission they may safely make, and lose nothing but a little pride of opinion in regard to it.

In the following movement upon Corinth while Halleck was in immediate command, Sherman's relations to that officer were evidently pleasant, and a cordial and mutually appreciative correspondence seems to have continued between them down to the negotiations between Sherman and Johnston in 1865, to which we shall have occasion to advert again.

The subordinate movements of the following campaign prior to the siege of Vicksburg are well and clearly given in the narrative, and valuable light is thrown upon their relation to the general plan of campaign adopted by Grant, who was again in chief active command in the Mississippi Valley. The incident of the capture of Arkansas Post is given with spirit; but in the treatment of General McClelland the author is fairly chargeable with saying either too much or too little. The animus is decidedly hostile, and yet the narrative does not give facts enough for the reader to feel that he has the means of judging clearly between the parties. Sherman's subsequent career lifted him too high as a military man to make it possible that the jealousy felt at the time could color his picture at this late day, yet it is quite plain that he cordially dislikes McClelland and tries to ridicule him.

The siege of Vicksburg itself is given with sufficient fulness to convey a distinct idea of the plan, and Grant is fully credited with the conception and determination of both the plan itself and the details of its execution. A letter written by Sherman during the progress of the operations shows that he would have moved to the rear of the city from the north, and he is still of the opinion that such a course would have shortened the siege materially. The letter, however, appears to have been written to call out the opinions of the other corps commanders, and instead of being intended as a criticism upon Grant's purposes, was meant to commit McClelland to some affirmative plan of campaign, and forestall any criticism after the event from that quarter. Grant, however, did not call for the opinions of the rest, nor did he modify his own. Success, as is usual, justified the course actually taken, and quickly lifted Grant to the command of all the armies of the nation.

Sherman's part in the victory at Mission Ridge is modestly given; but his winter march to Knoxville to Burnside's relief seemed to him unnecessary, and he was evidently annoyed at finding that Burnside had comfortable headquarters within the town, and that the reports of starvation had been exaggerated. Sherman's own habit in the field was a model of simplicity and economy of transportation, carrying the reduction of headquarters baggage to the extreme limit, if indeed he did not sometimes go beyond it. As a natural result, he looked with displeasure upon every evidence that other commanders were giving some attention to their own comfort, overlooking sometimes the difference of situation between field-service and other phases of military life. Thus, he records the fact of Burnside occupying a fine house in Knoxville, subsequently does the same in the case of Banks at New Orleans, and even gives "Pap" Thomas a "little dig" in regard to the size of his field equipage. We suspect that those who served with "Uncle Billy" regarded that tent-fly of his as his pet weakness, and camp stories are even current that in hard weather his staff-officers were sometimes glad to take refuge in the more ample shelter of the headquarters of the Army of the Cumberland. If the officers of whom he records these criticisms had no severer charges laid at their doors, they would be fortunate men. Yet if Sherman erred, it was on the right side, and he is no doubt right in asserting that he was able to give his army greater mo-

bility and impetus by setting the example of throwing away all *impedimenta*.

The first volume closes with the march to Meridian, which was a necessary means of rendering it possible to leave the Mississippi Valley in charge of only a small force when the concentration should be made at Chattanooga for a great campaign in Georgia. The Mississippi had now been opened; the rebel force west of it hardly amounted to an army; the destruction of railways took the States of Louisiana and Mississippi practically out of the field of grand operations; everything north of the other Gulf States was safe; and Sherman prepared for a formidable advance into the heart of what still remained the enemy's country, whilst Grant assumed command of the Army of the Potomac to begin the inexorable but terribly costly advance upon Richmond.

A Group of Poets and their Haunts. By James Albert Harrison. (New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1875.)—Mr. Harrison dates his preface from "Randolph-Macon College," Virginia, from which we infer that his volume has, intellectually, a Southern pedigree, as it were, and was originally addressed to Southern readers. Indeed, without this indication, we should have arrived at some such conclusion, for the author's style, on its face, reflects the fervors of a high temperature. It seems proper to give Mr. Harrison the benefit of his circumstances, and to observe that there are good reasons why he should write as he does; but it is fair, on the other hand, to remember that Southern literature is not, by an absolutely invincible necessity, pitched in the uncomfortably high key of these essays. It is desirable, in other words, both that the Southern view of intellectual things should not seem to an author (especially if he is making his first experiments) the most felicitous and profitable one, and that the Southern mind should not accept such performances as those of Mr. Harrison for more than they are worth. Their value seems to us quite relative. Just what the Southern view of things consists of we should, ourselves, be at loss to explain: read Mr. Harrison, and you will get a notion. Roughly speaking, it consists very much more of words than ideas—of sound than of substance. Mr. Harrison handles words with a certain natural vocation for the task; but he is a clever conjuror rather than a real magician. He does not always make the best use of his cleverness, either; he is liable to grievous slips and mishaps; the same thing, with more care, could be better done. We say with more care—with a better use of the same material; for Mr. Harrison's book is good enough to make it a pity it is not much better. He has an excellent selection of subjects—subjects which are a proof of his having real literary and æsthetic predilections. He has apparently made a long stay in Europe, and spent his time there in a sufficiently scholarly manner. Heine, Byron (viewed in connection with his places of residence in Italy), Tasso, Boccaccio; the picturesque aspects of Copenhagen; Bellmann, the Swedish poet, Béranger, Chénier, Alfred de Musset—these are all remunerative themes, if one has the art to make them so. But it is hard to imagine a man taking more trouble to make less of them than Mr. Harrison has done. He is bitten with the mania of being picturesque at any cost, in season and out, and on this errand he indulges in the most fantastic escapades. His writing, half the time, reads like a repulsive rehash of the sort of literature to which Mr. G. A. Sala and Mr. Hepworth Dixon have accustomed us, and of which the London *Telegraph* is the classic exponent. We have but to open him at random for an illustration. "Venetian women are not pretty if one sees them squinting, arms a-kimbo, behind their booth-counters, inhaling the slops and slums of forty doges. They look like brunettes of Eblis. Their gibble-gabble is incessant. A little of the silent vaccine of Turkey might be introduced to advantage into the national carcass." What does Mr. Harrison mean, elsewhere, by "the rugged facts, the red-hot soberness, the telescopic vividness to which Hawthorne clings, as to the Pillars of Hercules"? What does he mean by calling Paul Veronese "that Taine of Italians"? What profit does he find in winding up an incoherent rhapsody about Hawthorne's Miriam, "whose character has the purple opaqueness of clouded amethyst," with the statement that in the contours of the Faun of Praxiteles "there is focalized the whole of an extinct civilization, there is unsphered from the mere pictorial symbol the glorious fearlessness and freedom and energy that triremed the whole Mediterranean and hamstringing the monarchy of Xerxes"? What is he thinking of when he calls Lord Byron "the stereopticon of British poets"? What does he mean, above all, by producing such an unsavory passage as that on page 38, relative to what he calls the "flowery vices" of Lady Byron? The taste of such stuff as this strikes us as simply depraved; neither reason nor imagination has anything to do with it.

